



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

**'I'M NAE EESE FOR NITHIN BIT SCRAPIN PANS!':
AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE LIVES OF YOUNG MARRIED
WOMEN IN A FISHING COMMUNITY IN THE NORTH EAST
OF SCOTLAND**

Gillian Munro

Ph.D
The University of Edinburgh
1996



ABSTRACT

This thesis is an ethnographic study of the lives of young married women in a fishing village in the North East of Scotland. I illustrate the central role played by women in the maintenance of home, family and community through a discussion of their daily lives as housewives, as mothers, as members of kin networks, as friends and as social participants. Major achievements of the study are to demonstrate the complexity and multiplicity of women's personal interpretations of their roles, and to show how they respond to tradition and how they introduce change in their interpretations of these roles.

The complexity and range of material I present therefore has resulted in a comprehensive study which is not theory-led and which draws no easy theoretical conclusions. Rather, in this thesis, I aim to make a significant contribution to the ethnographic quality of community and gender studies in Scotland.

CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE (p.1);

THESIS DECLARATION (p.2);

ABSTRACT (p.3);

CONTENTS PAGES (pp.4-7);

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS (p.8);

INTRODUCTION:

Research and Personal Background (p.9);

Methodology (pp.9-11): Choice of Subject (pp.11-12);

Relationships (pp.12-15); 'Leaving the Field' (pp.15-16);

Research on Rural Women in Scotland (pp.16-17);

An Introduction to the Village (pp.17-20).

CHAPTER 1: HOUSEWIVES AND HOUSEWORK

General Introduction (p.21);

PART A: Introduction (pp.22-23); Adulthood and Being a Housewife (p.23); Role Identification (pp.23-24); Parental Role Models (pp.24-26); Spatial Separation of Men and Women (pp.26-27); At Home/Oot Hakin: Moral Sanctions (pp.27-28); The Fishing Routine: A Lifestyle Choice? (pp.29-32); Setting Up Home: Role Allocation (pp.32-34); The Feminine Home (pp.34-35); The Social Value of Cleanliness (pp.35-36); Cleaning Routines (pp.36-40); Cleaning Standards (p.40); Male Cleanliness (pp.40-41); Maintaining Standards, Self-Reward and Punishment (p.42); Mental Health Issues (pp.43-45); Bargaining for Recognition (pp.45-46); Autonomy and Freedom (p.46); Male Participation in Housework (pp.46-50); Authority (pp.50-52); Managing Income

(pp.52-53); Finances, Management and Perceptions of Power and Influence (pp.53-61); Spending on Children (pp.61-63);

PART B: Housing (pp.64-66); Grandeur (pp.66-70); Housing, Social Status, Men and Women (pp.70-73); Female Ownership (p.73); Hame-Tied (pp.73-75); Pride in the Home (pp.75-77); House Exteriors (pp.77-80); Housing Interiors (pp.81-93); Room Layout (pp.93-95); Clothes (pp.95-96); Cars (pp.96-97); Religion, Wealth and Cleanliness (pp.98-99); Cleanliness, Locals and Incomers (pp.99-101); Country and Fisher Cleanliness Standards (pp.101-104).

CHAPTER 2: MOTHERHOOD

Introduction (pp.105-107); Explanations of Gender Roles (pp.107-109); Ideology and Value of Family Life (pp.109-111); Illegitimacy (pp.111-112); Age (pp.112-113); Family Support of the Pregnant Bride and Her Groom (pp.113-114); Illegitimacy and History (pp.114-115); Availability of Contraception (pp.115-116); 'Too Old' (pp.116-118); Conclusion (p.118); Children as Dependants (pp.118-119); The 'Perfect Family Life' (pp.119-120); Experiencing Pregnancy (pp.120-121); The Child's Gender (pp.121-123); Role Learning (pp.123-124); Generations of Children (pp.124-125); Spacing of Children (p.126); Telling the Family of a Pregnancy (pp.126-127); Pregnancy Problems (pp.127-130); Fathers' Involvement in the Birth of Children (pp.130-131); Female Support During Pregnancy (p.131); Incomers' Experiences of Childbirth in the Village (p.132); Childbirth (pp.132-133); Fêting the New-Born (pp.133-135); The Involvement of Grandmothers (pp.135-138); Mothering Routines (pp.138-139); Children, Hygiene and Dirt (p.139); Country Observations on Children and Mess (pp.139-140); The Public Showing of the Baby (pp.140-141); Walks with the Pram (pp.141-142); Coping with a New Baby (p.142); Women's Health After Child-Birth (pp.142-144); A Husband's Support of his Ill Wife (pp.144-145); Aftermath (p.145); Stress (pp.145-147); Coping with Stress (pp.147-148); Ongoing Female Support (pp.148-149);

Managing Public Images of the Family (pp.150-151); The Effects of Motherhood on Spouses' Relationships (pp.151-152); Fatherhood (p.152); Disciplining Children (pp.152-155); Fathers' Roles in Disciplining their Children (pp.155-157); Children's Images of Mothers and Fathers (pp.157-158); Fathers' Relationships with their Children (pp.158-160); So Who is Boss over the Children? (pp.160-163); Men's Experiences of Fatherhood (pp.163-168); Women's Independence from their Children (pp.168-171); Restricting Your Time Out (pp.171-172); Education and Traditional Roles (pp.172-174); Their Children's Futures and Choices (pp.174-176).

CHAPTER 3: WOMEN AND FAMILY NETWORKS

Introduction (p.177); Definitions (pp.177-180); How Women Maintain Family Networks (pp.180-181); Mothers and Daughters (pp.181-185); Post-Marital Communication with Mothers (pp.185-186); Independence and Family Support (pp.186-188); How Mothers Influence their Daughters' Sense of Responsibility to the Family (p.188); Mothers and Sibling Children (p.189); Mothers and Daughters: Inter-Changeable Roles (pp.189-191); Supporting Elderly Parents (pp.191-193); Parents-in-Law (pp.193-197); Grandchildren (pp.197-209); Siblings (pp.209-216); Aunts and Uncles (pp.217-223); Cousins (p.223); First Cousins (pp.223-224); Second and Third Cousins (pp.224-226); Conclusion (pp.226-228).

CHAPTER 4: FRIENDSHIP

Introduction (p.229); Definitions (pp.229-231); The Importance of Family and Friends (pp.231-234); Definitions (pp.234-236); Social Contact Between Different Types of Friends (pp.236-237); Close Friendships (pp.237-238); Equals (pp.238-239); Enjoyment and Companionship (p.239); Mutual Trust (p.239); Assistance and Support (pp.240-241); Mutual Acceptance, Respect and Understanding (p.241); Intimacy (p.241); Being Yourself (pp.242-245); Social Factors (p.245); Incomers (pp.245-246); Peer

Friendships (pp.246-247); Friends' Children (pp.247-248); Families and Friends (p.248); Spouses (pp.248-249); Cross-Gender Friendships (pp.249-251); Marital Status (pp.251-252); Crew and Friendships (pp.253-255); Friends and Mothers (p.255); Kinship (pp.256-258); Loyalties (p.258); Common Values (pp.258-259); Self-Confidence (pp.259-260); Social Interests (pp.261-262); Neighbours (p.262); Religion (pp.262-265); Non-Local Friendships (p.265); Fisher, Country and Incomer Friendships (pp.265-266); Conclusion (p.267).

CHAPTER 5: WOMEN AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Introduction (p.268);

PART A: Social Activities for Men and Women (pp.269-270); Marital Status (pp.270-271); Age (p.271); Men's Involvement in Children's Social Activities (pp.271-272); Children's Clubs (pp.271-273); Children's Parties (pp.273-274); Committee Participation (p.275); Pre-School Group Committees (pp.275-277); Voluntary Groups (p.277); The Play-School (p.277); Parent-Teacher Association (pp.277-278); Youth Activities (pp.278-279); Badminton (pp.279-280); Aerobics (pp.280-282); Economic Status and Participation (pp.282-283); The Scottish Women's Rural Institute (pp.283-284); The Flower Show (p.284-285); Galas and Fairs (p.286); Religious Groups (p.286); Women in the Church (pp.287-289); The Woman's Guild (pp.289-292); Religious Groups and their Structural Features (pp.292-296);

PART B: (p. 296); Gossip: Definitions (pp.296-298); Experience of Gossip (pp.298-304); Reasons to Gossip (pp.304-306); Tradition and Community (pp.306-312); Summary (pp.312-313).

FINAL REMARKS: (pp.314-316);

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (pp.317-329);

APPENDIX: (pp.330-345).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THANK YOU :

To Marion, for having believed in me from the start, and for all the support - this thesis is dedicated to you with much love;
To Peter for all the "I dinna suppose in aa my wildest dreams ye'll iver finish it" comments, and the teners;
To Prof. Cohen, for your patience, advice, support, encouragement and inspiration throughout;
To Margaret, you convinced me of the wonders of computers;
To Maggie, who first encouraged me to begin the Ph.D;
To Lynn and Sharon, for the last minute support;
To Fiona, M.D.!

To John, flat-mate, for fixing computers for me, for giving me space to work, and for your wit;
To Madhu, le móran ghaol;
To my friends and flat-mates who supported me throughout ...
In particular, for you Gordon, Judith, Michel, Susan, Cath, Nell, Winifred and Robert, and Irene and Bill;
To my friends in Social Anthropology (especially Gill for being so generous with your ideas and support) and the School of Scottish Studies (staff and students); and to Bob Storey for your support;
To everyone in 'St Magnus Haven' for the friendship and the céilidhs.

Thank you also to various sponsors who made this possible, in particular to the Russell Trust (and Sandy Fenton), the Carnegie Trust, the B.F.W.G. (Edinburgh and London branches), Fearann Eilean Iarmain, and the S.O.E.D.

And finally, but most important, to all my relatives and friends in Balnamara who made me feel at home. My greatest thanks go to my three closest friends and to my aunt and uncle, who trusted me so much, and who gave me some highly memorable experiences!

INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH AND PERSONAL BACKGROUND

In this thesis I draw on the disciplines of both anthropology and folklore for methodology and reading. However, I am not formally trained in either discipline. It is also important to note that although I have read among sociological texts I have no methodological or theoretical training in this subject either (see **METHODOLOGY**).

I approach my study from a general arts background, my first degree being in Celtic Studies (M.A.). Celtic Studies helped me to develop my interest in local boundaries and cultural identities. A period of fieldwork in a Gaelic-speaking area, ostensibly to learn the language but, more accurately, to explore the multiplicity of definitions of personal and cultural identity in the Gàidhealtachd, have contributed to interest in my current thesis topic.

Of vital importance to the genesis and nature of this thesis is the fact that I have a long, personal relationship with my fieldwork area, Balnamara. My mother came from the village so that every weekend and school holiday was spent visiting relatives there. Despite my mother's death when I was nine and a subsequent break in contact with relatives of eight years I returned as a young adult to first visit relatives, then to record oral history from maternal relatives, and latterly to conduct research for this doctoral thesis. My family history in the village was as important to my thesis fieldwork as the fact that I had local relatives in influencing both my experiences and ethnography (see below).

METHODOLOGY

From anthropology I borrow the participant-observation fieldwork method: I spent two years living in Balnamara, making through my relationships with relatives, close friends and others extensive notes on my interactions with others, producing the 'thick description' which Geertz describes as one strategy to

interpretation (Geertz,1973). My fieldnotes became thinner and fewer, especially after the first year as I became used to life in Balnamara.

From folklore studies I embrace the value given to personal testimony and the recognition of individual as well as collective experience in telling a/the story of 'what it was (is) like' (see, for example, *Tocher*). Hence I recorded my main informants - Amanda, Anna and Natalie - after about a year in residence, when our friendships were firmly established. Both field notes and recordings were used in the writing of the final text, although I have discussed my thoughts about the thesis content occasionally with my close friends.

Although concerned that young married women in Balnamara would be too busy to chat to me, relatives were welcoming, if puzzled by my arrival. Other local people seemed delighted with my 'return': I had come back to the land of my forefathers, I was told, and I was received with shy interest and much warmth. Because I had relatives in the village people immediately knew how to categorise me. Aunts and uncles were expected to treat me like a daughter. Slowly I grew to learn of the complicated ways in which I was related to so many others and our relatedness provided a platform on which to build relationships. Although I said that I was 'doing a project' on women's lives currently in Balnamara people often assumed that I really wanted historical information (c.f. Moscarennas-Keyes, 1984, p.190). The situation was confused by the fact that I had earlier collected oral history, and that I also made some oral history recordings during ethnographic fieldwork.

Because people did not seem to regard educational qualifications as desirable, and because of a local emphasis on the suppression of information which could make one look as if s/he were boasting I discussed my project in detail only with those who asked about it. My closest friends knew that I was writing down the most intimate detail of our conversations and would occasionally ask me not to make certain comments public. After perhaps twelve months, my project seemed to have been publicly forgotten. When I did discuss my project relatives,

friends and acquaintances encouraged me to stay and look for a job locally. Friends and relatives all tried to get me a local boyfriend and to encourage me to feel 'broody' (see MOTHERHOOD).

Since leaving no-one has asked me on return visits about the study *per se*; instead they ask what job I do and if I have a boyfriend yet. This partly reflects their particular interests but may also reflect the trust they put in me to write about them in a way they would like.

I fear that many would not like what I have written. I have enormous respect for people in Balnamara and I constantly marvel at how much individuals and the community as a whole have achieved. I have written about some of the difficulties which individuals, families and the community as a whole experience in living on a daily basis, but I hope it is accepted that my purpose in writing about such difficulties is to magnify the achievements of the individual, family and community in reconciling different demands.

In an effort to protect the privacy of people in Balnamara I have disguised individual identities and place-names by using pseudonyms. Occasionally, when I discuss particularly sensitive information, I have used two different pseudonyms for the same person to doubly ensure their anonymity.

Quotes from recordings have been indented, and many have the letters TR. written in brackets. TR. means 'transcript', and is followed by a transcript page number. Some tapes are indexed under an earlier system and are self-explanatory.

'Time Quines' refers to a television programme I helped make in 1993, about the work roles of women in fishing communities in Scotland.

Quotes which are not indented are quotes taken from my field notes. Translations of difficult quotes and Scots phrases are given in the Appendix.

Choice of Subject

My initial interest was in men's lives as fishermen; however I realised from early conversations before beginning fieldwork

that, because I was female, I would have access only to women: for example, a request to join my uncles' crew for a five day boat trip was given a nervous reception and then was quietly forgotten about.

I set off on fieldwork with no social science theoretical or methodological training. My thesis content emerged from the concentration in my note indexing system of certain subjects, such as motherhood and housework.

In trying to make sense of my notes on local themes I referred to others' work on specific areas. However I found it hard to integrate their work in any significant way due to the range of material I had and the appearance of theory to frequently simplify rather than to illustrate complexity and differences, which was one of my key aims.

Relationships

In Balnamara I was both an insider and an outsider. I was an insider principally because I had relatives living in the village, but also I was fortunate enough to make many good friendships (see **WOMEN AND KIN NETWORKS** and **FRIENDSHIP**).

Yet at the beginning of my thesis fieldwork people knew little about me. We worked hard in conversations to establish appropriate, shared local significations: for example, I learnt to understand and speak the local dialect, I showed an understanding and acceptance of local gender roles and ways of self-deportment, I wore appropriate clothing and observed general cleanliness standards, and I showed knowledge of and interest in village people's history. My ignorance and lack of sophistication at times in negotiating everyday life in the village was very embarrassing for all of us and I am grateful to many for turning a blind eye.

Balnamara people, related to me or not, were extraordinarily kind and interested in me. I was aware at times of very flattering competition for my company and I was constantly asked to visit and eat with relatives and villagers I did not know. They educated me in their family relationships and histories and in our

shared history and relatedness, about which I had usually known nothing.

My relatedness to people living in the village was a vital component of my acceptance as a kind of insider. People expected me to have relationships with my kin and certain assumptions were made about my loyalties, for example, and my understanding of how kinship generally played an important part in everyday life. My relatives were also expected to fulfil certain roles in relation to me and all were extraordinarily tolerant and accommodating, despite the demanding and public nature of their task.

I was also keen to establish some measure of independence to speak to anyone: even in this I was like, I was likened to my mother. Through time and contact I think I showed that I could balance the occasionally contradictory requirements of different roles - as relative, and as acquaintance or friend - and that I could still be discreet. Balnamara people themselves also had to perform this kind of balancing act, trying to maintain their different roles in relation to different people.

Although Mascarenhas-Keyes says she had to become a 'multiple native' (1984, p.191), as if she did not normally, in her everyday life, adapt her posture according to her audience Cohen reminds us that individuals adapt to different social situations without compromising their sense of integrity, and that the self is "plastic, variable and complex" (Cohen, 1994, p.2). In a small community it is perhaps more difficult to maintain one's independence to speak to whomever one likes because one is observed more closely and loyalties at times need to appear more obvious; thus in Balnamara I was amazed at individuals' achievements in maintaining many different kinds of relationships.

A particular relative occasionally reminded me of our kin relationship and required that I favour her rather than a friend or another relative, but she too showed the same flexibility in interpretation of loyalties and independence of action.

I developed close friendships with three young married women, two of whom were also developing an independent relationship as close friends. These relationships were crucial to my sense of

identification with women in the village for a variety of reasons, not least for the sense of intimacy, trust and respect, and the development of knowledge and understanding of self and other, which I gained through these friendships.

Why they were interested in me when emphasis is put locally on shared childhood and teenage experiences I can only guess at. Crick calls informants "culture brokers" who are "innovative in their interaction with field researchers; their motives might be altruism, curiosity, ego-enhancement, or sheer financial profit" (1992, p.180). I did think that Anna, Amanda and Natalie were unusually interested in 'things new', although they had different techniques for dealing with this and different reasons for getting involved with me. Financial profit was certainly not a factor: they were all much wealthier than I and would be appalled at such a description (see chapter on FRIENDSHIP). Their interest in me, and mine in them, sprang largely from curiosity, a need for companionship and a wish to engage with others for our development of understanding of ourselves and others.

All three of my close friends were given personal recommendations about me before meeting me, so they were not dealing with a complete stranger. Two of them had experienced recent disruption in close friendships through moving out of the village and were, perhaps therefore, open to me.

Anna, Amanda and Natalie made me part of their everyday lives. Their children adopted me as 'aunty Gillian' and their parents invited me up for meals and cups of tea. Being single I was free to visit them frequently in their homes, breaking for all of us the monotony of housework and the loneliness and isolation involved in looking after young children.

My close friends often discussed with me how our positions might well have been reversed had we had different family histories: I 'had' to 'get education' because I had no family support, and they followed local models of marrying young and having children. They questioned why I was not, despite concentrating on education, married with children. They flattered me by saying they thought I'd make a good housewife and mother; and they felt flattered that I thought they could develop their educational

qualifications if they wanted to. Differences between us surfaced repeatedly but we talked and laughed about them, reducing their importance.

When a serious misunderstanding arose between Natalie and I I was deeply shocked. I felt sick, emotionally and physically. I immediately doubted my understanding of all my fieldwork experiences. The incident showed me how much my confidence in my skills as a fieldworker and writer rested in my belief that I could correctly understand something of and trust my closest friends (c.f. Watson, 1992, p.143). The misunderstanding had some positive outcomes in that it led to greater self-knowledge and self-questioning, and a greater awareness of fieldwork processes (Okely and Callaway, 1992, p.xii).

Much of my 'insight' is attributable to the insights of my friends into their own and others' lives in the village. They themselves were indigenous ethnographers (Crick, 1992, p.180), being very self-aware, intensely reflective, and perceptive and analytical about me. I hope they feel I have not been too bad a student.

'Leaving the field'

In 1991, after two years doing fieldwork, I returned to Edinburgh to write up my thesis. I dreaded leaving, and missed the intense personal contact with friends and relations (I was frequently out visiting for over twelve hours per day). I continued to rent my council house and spent often every second weekend in Balnamara. Men, at sea during the week, did not notice I had gone. My house was a symbol of my wish to be there still, and when finally I stopped renting the house my relatives and close friends echoed my disbelief when they said they could hardly believe that I was no longer there.

Returning to Edinburgh was, in one way, something of a relief: I felt intensely 'broody' and lonely, so that my contact with friends in Edinburgh of a similar status was crucial to coming to terms personally with my experiences in Balnamara.

Although I now live in Edinburgh people in Balnamara, especially close friends and relatives, always seem pleased to see me.

However they seldom phone and few have visited me in

Edinburgh. They, more than I, seemed prepared for my departure from Balnamara.

RESEARCH ON RURAL WOMEN IN SCOTLAND

My aim in this section is not to give a literature review but to very briefly point out the main types of material available to study women's lives in a Scottish, rural context. This brief discussion will indicate some reasons for presenting my thesis in this format as an ethnography rather than as a theoretical argument.

A large literature exists which uses oral history and folk-lore to reflect Scottish rural women's experiences and lives in the past. Fishing is particularly well-served by such material (e.g. Bochel 1979, Buchan 1983, Dorian 1985, King 1992/3 and Fraser, 1983). Oral history and folklore are largely 'experiential' in nature; analysis is 'done' by the informant and is implicit in the oral account.

Accounts of women in fishing communities are, perhaps, particularly numerous, possibly due to lay (and literary, see Scott, 1816) conceptions of fisher society as dominated by women.

Fisherfolk enjoy the public attention given to strong female images such as young female gutting teams but although quick to assert their independence they are also quick to recognise the hard and dangerous work of fishermen. Writers would seem to me therefore to distort images of fishing society as wholly 'matriarchal'.

While there is a great deal of very good theoretical and descriptive anthropological work on women (and men) in rural, maritime areas of Canada (see Porter and Davis, D.L, 1983) and elsewhere in the world (see, for example, Nadel-Klein and Davis, D.L., 1988) Scotland and, indeed, Britain is much less well off. Little anthropological work has been done in Scotland in the present century (Condry, 1983), and when women are mentioned it is generally in the passing in male-centred descriptions of economic life.

Twentieth century anthropological work on Scottish fishing communities has also paid slight attention to women, concentrating instead on community life, and social and technological change from largely a male perspective (e.g. Baks and Postel-Coster 1975, Byron 1986, Knipe 1984, and Cohen 1987).

Clark (1995, p.3) comments that "Recent research has highlighted the inadequacy of current knowledge about women in rural areas" in Scotland; little is known of women in terms of their economic and social roles, and of their aspirations for themselves, their families and their communities (ibid., p.7). " .. Existing research", she writes, "is largely gender blind" (ibid., p.3) despite Shucksmith's claim that "the changing social role of women is the greatest challenge facing society" (Clark 1995 on Shucksmith). Clark calls for "a realistic appraisal of the current situation of women in rural communities, rather than stereotypes or presumptions" (ibid., p.4).

Clark's call for qualitative research is made with policy makers and service providers in mind (ibid.) but relates also to the role of the ethnographic researcher who is uniquely placed to provide a more complicated picture grounded in reality rather than in social theory.

Although 'rurality' is implicit rather than explicitly discussed in the thesis and I am not writing for policy-makers, my work does, I hope, contribute to qualitative research on contemporary women and especially on rural women in Scotland. From a basis of multiple qualitative, small-scale research studies comparative work could be undertaken to inform the development of relevant theories and policy recommendations which take into account not only factors such as macro-economic forces and cultural ideologies but community dynamics (Cohen, 1978).

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE VILLAGE

Balnamara (a pseudonym) is a small fishing village on the North East coast of Scotland. It is one of a large number of such settlements developed by estate owners in the North East (and, less numerous, elsewhere) in the 1700's (Coull, 1989; Summers,

1988), although the village probably pre-dated this period of land owner development (H.B. et alia).

The village was situated at the foot of steep cliffs. Houses were strung closely together on a narrow raised beach which separated the cliffs from the sea. Residents had no choice but to fish, as all available land became built upon.

Until the 1950's both men and women in Balnamara prosecuted the fishery. Men fished in small boats, travelling many miles round the Scottish coast to fish, most notably to the Western Isles and to Shetland. Women processed or sold on the catch, themselves often travelling miles inland to sell their fish or to cure it in the fishermen's wake.

The herring boom periods of the late 1800's and early 1900's revolutionised the Scottish fishing industry and led to massive social change (Coull, 1989).

Early experimentation with the herring fishery in Balnamara resulted in the growth in the numbers of fisherman- and family-owned boats throughout the nineteenth century (Bell, 1988).

Local merchants also provided finance to fishermen to take advantage of new fishing technologies and markets. This laid the foundations for family boat ownership, wealth and social change throughout the twentieth century, and led to significant change in particularly women's roles.

Women were crucial to the development of the herring fishery: the men fished and the women gutted. Women continued to gut fish until the 1950's when mechanism made huge numbers of them redundant. Women then only worked if they were single or if they were relatively poor: being a housewife then became a badge of respectability and a mark of proper female responsibility.

Council houses were built in the 1930's but few fishers were able to afford them. By the 1950's incomes had become more reliable and overcrowded families and young fisher couples began to move to the council house schemes at the top of the cliffs. Since then local people have slowly moved to the top of the cliffs, leaving the Fishertown houses to the elderly and incomers. Thus, in

terms of patterns of residence, the fisher population is still a discrete community.

At the last census (1991) the population figure for Balnamara was 810 (verbal communication, Aberdeenshire Council). The main industry in the village is still fishing, which men prosecute from the nearby large town ports of Portmore and Porteesgach (also pseudonyms). Despite the divorce of the fishermen and their village harbour Balnamara has an unusually high percentage of skipper and share owners (verbal communication, Alex Salmond M.P. and Portmore Fisheries officer). Although family boat ownership is becoming increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few, and crews are no longer either all related or even from the same village, the family image of crews is still strong. Balnamara boats almost all return at weekends to allow crew to be at home with their families (see PART B of **HOUSEWIVES AND HOUSEWORK**).

The village has a continuous history of religiosity. The Calvinist religious history of the village has been intimately connected with social attitudes and economic advance by encouraging a pattern of saving and investment. More importance is placed on the family. This has given rise to the derogatory fisher stereotype of Balnamaricks as close-knit, rich and religious, and to the folk belief that Balnamara is the richest fishing village in Scotland. Local job opportunities aside from fishing-related work, are scarce and often poorly paid. The situation is worse for women than for men. Until the 1950's women had always been wage-earners as well as child carers and housewives, but the subsequent industrialisation of fishery processing and the growth in men's income resulted in the domestication of women. The home became increasingly a place of time-consuming domestic technology and this was paralleled by the reinforcement of the idea of the domestic and caring responsibilities of women. Presently women are still expected to give up paid work when they have children and to devote themselves to the care of their children, homes and husbands. The image of women as independent and powerful within their marriages, which was particularly prevalent in relation to

women's lives as fish sellers and herring gutters, still, however, has potency in fishing communities. In practical terms women retain their power in running the household. The desire of some young married women to participate in the labour market is born more from a need to have a role that is separate from her family caring roles, and to have a more satisfying balance of roles and responsibilities, than from a rejection of her more affective roles or of her husband's power as a wage-earner.

All of the North East fishing villages are characterised as distinctive in different ways. Each village still has a high preponderance of certain surnames, and family or relatedness is still a central defining feature. Each village still has recognisably local Scots dialect words and local accents and locals can often identify which village a person comes from.

It is important however not to exaggerate the divisions between communities to prove somehow that they exist. I hope the ethnography shows that, while the community absorbs and interprets change, and while, at times, it is difficult to see how the community differs from other communities, it is not replaced in any substantial sense by outside change.

Balnamara children attend a secondary school in the county capital. This, together with the ease and frequency of journeys outwith the village, the changing structures of the fishing industry and the impact of the media and other social change, brings new challenges to face the community.

HOUSEWIVES AND HOUSEWORK

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In the following chapter I would like to discuss young women's roles as housewives to show how women contribute to the expression of the importance of the family in community life in Balnamara.

The chapter is divided into two sections: in Part A I discuss how women's performances of the role of housewife are crucial to the definition of themselves as social and moral human beings and to demonstrating their commitment to the family.

In Part B I put women's work as housewives into the wider context of socio-economic relations in the village by discussing housing style and development and by demonstrating how housing is seen as a metaphor for different socio-economic relations in the village. There follows a detailed description of house external and internal decoration to show how women are very influential in the presentation of the socio-economic and moral character of the family to the community. Finally, I discuss how the maintenance of physical appearances by women is related to a wider dialogue, both within and beyond the community, about the nature of social relations within the community and about the nature of the community itself. The model of the family and the contribution of women in maintaining the family are crucial to this dialogue. Within the village the debate centres around social inequality. Outwith the community, however, the debate is that the strength of the family model in community life in Balnamara is a crucial factor in the success of the community. Women are shown to be vitally involved in creating this debate through their performances of the role of housewife.

PART A

INTRODUCTION

Below I show how being a housewife is central to the definition of an adult woman in Balnamara.

I demonstrate how the marital home is a symbol of the family and of a woman's care, not only for its occupants - husband and children - but also for the community.

Hard work is required not only of men at sea but of women, producing extremely high cleaning and care standards. Thus a woman's expression of devotion (through cleaning standards) to the care of the home and its occupants becomes a means of judging her moral character and the moral and socio-economic status of not only her family - husband, children, other kin - but also of the community.

I discuss Balnamara people's explanation of the division of labour according to gender. Men are associated with the sea and women with the home. However it is shown that there can be no easy assumption that, by being primarily associated with the home, women have inferior personal and social status because, although there is prestige in wage-earning, there is also high prestige in being a housewife.

Thus both men and women recognise the power and influence of the other spouse and both recognise that they must compromise in their personal and family lives, men by concentrating on fishing, and women by concentrating on running the home.

I discuss how, when fishing routines change, gender work roles and beliefs may change too. Yet many people express satisfaction with highly polarised gender work role separation, using their roles to barter for recognition of personal value and influence, and for emotional and practical reward.

I also highlight the role of young women's mothers (and female kin) in monitoring and reinforcing what they feel are their daughters' female roles and responsibilities, and I discuss how young women accept or reject these traditional influences.

Young women's mothers also provide vital emotional and practical support in ways which, ironically, constantly threaten to undermine the public image of the family as a self-supporting, independent socio-economic unit. I discuss how young married women deal with these conflicting needs, to be independent and to need support.

ADULTHOOD AND BEING A HOUSEWIFE

Adulthood for both men and women is symbolised by having a home of one's own: most achieve this upon marriage. Upon marriage a woman's central defining role becomes that of housewife. Women who do not give up paid work partly or entirely upon marriage to look after the home do so upon the birth of the first child (an event which further establishes one's adult status).

Being married and a housewife establishes one's independence from parents. A woman should be visibly living apart from her mother in her own house when she is a housewife: Brigid disapproved of a neighbour who, despite owning a new, much-admired bungalow and although married for almost fifteen years, spent several days per week living and sleeping, with her children, in her mother's house.

Indeed independence from particularly mothers was identified by all of my young women friends as a main attraction in becoming a housewife.

ROLE IDENTIFICATION

Female children quickly learn to identify with their mothers. Aged three, Marsali was accustomed to dressing like her mother, to 'helping' her mother to cook, and to expressing care for infants by caring for her baby dolls; indeed Marsali owned her own toy cooker and doll's pram. Her brother wore similar clothes to his father, accompanied his father on boat and car trips more frequently than did his sister, and his two largest, most expensive toys were toy cars. Already Marsali and Alasdair's toys indicate an association of the female with the home and the male with the

external world: indications, perhaps, of their future work roles (cf. Oakley, 1974, p.114 and 121).

PARENTAL ROLE MODELS

Women continue to identify with their mothers throughout their lives, adopting the same roles of housewife and mother and relying on mothers to provide daily emotional and practical support.

Parental role models and the pressure to be the same as everyone else are reasons given to explain gender work roles. Hamish, explaining why his wife and other women coped while their men were gone for weeks at a time, said

".. at wis jist fit their mithers did, ye see. So they were kinna .. brought up till't. At's jist fit they were used till" (HW, TR.1989,136A).

Anna said that peer pressure, or peer models, based on their parents' roles, led her to choose certain personal roles: she wanted to

"be lik aabody else. Naebody wis wintin ti be different" (TR.2, AW); "It's jist a case o lookin at fit aabody else is deein. It wis niver really spoken aboot" (TR.2, AW).

Natalie's fiancé believed, like his parents, that people work to earn money and that if a man's wage is sufficient a woman shouldn't work but should symbolise the home.

NN: .. he's nae gin awa oot ere ti be haalin in a big pey for me ti be gin awa oot ere ti be workin for money thit we dinna need. At wis his attitude towards women workin (TR.54-5, NN).

Such a view indicates that male and female work roles are seen as complementary to one another, not antagonistic (Waterson, 1993, p.171).

Hence the domestication of women is seen by men and women as a social achievement and even as a status symbol, because the couple need only one income (Jeffrey, 1979, p.25).

When I asked Natalie and Anna if they ever discussed work role division in their marriage with their future husbands, they said:

NN: No, niver (TR.54, NN).

AW: No, I dinna think at wis spoken aboot. Although he did a share o the cookin an at ti begin wi .. at wis jist natural thit I did aathin then .. I wis used till it, cos my dad's a fisherman. So at's jist normal ti me..." (TR.6, AW).

Oakley (1974, p.53) suggests that seeing housework as a 'natural' role for a female may serve to increase women's motivation to feel satisfied. This is particularly likely in Balnamara given that the community accords prestige to being a housewife.

The issue of who does what in a marriage is raised by Mansfield and Collard (1988, p.121) who found that although couples were aware of the issue they didn't consciously discuss it.

Women such as Anna and Natalie see their work and gender roles as 'natural' and 'normal', not necessarily because they had innate ability as women to be housewives but because their parents were their role models (cf. Rosaldo, 1974).

Explanations of the naturalness of gender work roles are therefore based on a post-hoc justification of an established pattern (ibid.). However Balnamara women do not generally see themselves as subordinate or as deferring to men because they are not principal wage-earners. Indeed women see themselves as having considerable power and influence within their marriages by virtue of their roles as housewives.

Balnamara women do, however, express personal dissatisfaction with their performances as housewives, and a few express some

dissatisfaction with the role of full-time housewife (see **MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES**).

SPATIAL SEPARATION OF MEN AND WOMEN

Linda asked her husband to fix the kettle; he replied that he would like to go for a walk first. Then would he clean the car? Linda asked. Hamish said he had already decided to go for a walk. Linda, no longer smiling and pointedly ignoring Hamish, turned to me and said that it was too cold for her to wash the car. Hamish walked over bashfully and, smiling at me, patted Linda affectionately on the back. "I hiv ti gee er a clap", he said. Linda began to smile. "Ee see, I jist like oot fin I'm at hame", Hamish told her. After he had left the house Linda explained, "We're jist i exact opposite fae een anither. I'd raither be gaan aboot i hoose, far he'd raither oot. He's aye on at ma ti gang oot a waak. I like a waak fin ah'm on holiday, bit nae at hame. I'd raither dee somethin aboot the hoose".

Much recent anthropological literature has discussed how women in various societies are often primarily associated with the private, family, home interior while men are associated primarily with external, work-related public space. This division is often portrayed by writers as a curtailment of female power through enclosure and restriction of influence to the supposedly less powerful private sphere of the home.

In Balnamara men acknowledge women's rather considerable power in the relationship (see **MALE PARTICIPATION IN HOUSEWORK**) because they control the home environment; even men's financial influence on the home is severely curtailed because women are more powerful in decisions affecting the home.

Bourdieu (quoted by Waterson, 1993, pp.168-9) suggests that if women are 'relegated' to the house interior then men are therefore excluded from there. However in Balnamara, although women are primarily associated with the house interior, there is no suggestion that men 'relegate' them and that women therefore deliberately exclude men from the house interior. Women can and do, in a sense, exclude men to re-establish routine and

promote economic survival (see CLEANING ROUTINES) but it is not as a response to 'relegation' or assertion of superior male power.

Anna comments that she feels as sorry for her husband as for herself: she sees him as equally confined and lonely:

AW: .. It must be - awful - ken, stuck on a boat, aa week. Sometimes even langer. Bidin wi certain men thit's on the crew thit ye maybe dinna even like, haein ti suffer at kinna thing. Nae gettin hame ti yer ain bed ivery nicht (TR.31-32, AW).

Balnamara women are not *confined* to the home (Ardener, 1993, p.21); in fact their participation outwith the home is crucial to the functioning of home and family. However their outside activities, like those of men, generally reflect their concern with the maintenance of the home and family life, and with securing emotional and practical support from family and friends.

AT HAME/OOT HAKIN: MORAL SANCTIONS

Women's participation outside the home is monitored by, primarily, not men but other women in the community, and particularly by mothers, other female kin and friends.

Monitoring takes the form of questioning, and the absence or presence of emotional and practical support.

Metaphorically, a housewife is the house or the home and it is expected that she should be there on a regular basis. If she goes out too regularly she is talked about as being "aye on the heid o the road", or "oot hakin". Even though Amanda travelled to work she worried that being seen driving out of the village three evenings a week 'folk' would say she was 'aye on the heid o the road', inferring that she was neglecting her home, child and husband. Being in the open, especially outwith the village and others' gaze, exposes a woman to potential moral dangers which could imperil her marriage and family honour (c.f. Jeffery, 1979, p.23 and Hirschon in Ardener, 1993, p.64). However fishermen

also monitor one another's behaviour and seldom leave one another's company when ashore in distant ports.

Fishermen get few opportunities to phone home in a week so women do not like to be 'out' when their husbands call: Amanda felt guilty when Sam called and she was out. Even courting couples expect signs of dedication to the relationship: Kenny's girlfriend was 'never' in: he complained that she was more dedicated to her girlfriends than to him. He consequently worried about her commitment to him, but she also criticised his commitment to her when he preferred socialising with other fishermen ashore than with her.

Because women's mothers keep daily contact with their daughters husbands can find out where their wives are by phoning their mothers-in-law. Both husbands and mothers-in-law are interested in supporting the marriage so there is little suspicion of 'surveillance' of the absent wives but recognition of mutual affection, support and interest.

Whitefish and prawn fishermen have more regular phone contact with their wives. Purse skippers usually 'shout' daily on the VHF wireless: although a wife cannot reply, she hears her husband's voice and his news. Brigid 'tuned in' every night: occasionally, when she couldn't 'tune in' her sister- or father-in-law would relay her husband's news. Young single men phone their mothers, as well as their girlfriends, to keep in touch with home. When Sandy forgot to 'shout' Brigid was disappointed. Radio or phone contact, even if only one-way, is not a method of controlling a spouse or parent. Its importance is psychological, providing both with reassurance of commitment and support. Fishermen also like to speak to their children for much the same reasons.

Unless the fishermen are skippers they will usually only phone home when the boats are landing their catches ashore, so opportunities to phone may be reduced to once in two or three weeks, or even to when the fishermen are actually returning home.

THE FISHING ROUTINE: A LIFESTYLE CHOICE?

The predominant attitude among men and women is to accept their lifestyle and role division: they feel they have no choice if they are to be fisherfolk as other economic opportunities within commuting distance are very limited.

Anna says of the lifestyle:

AW: .. I wis used till it cos my dad's a fisherman. So at's jist normal ti me (TR. 6-7, AW).

Although women say they enjoy the autonomy which their husbands' absence gives them they often feel lonely and isolated and this is compensated for by routine, routine in their work and routine in the fishing cycle.

One of the major aspects of a fishing lifestyle which both men and women find hardest to accept is the unpredictability of when fishermen will be at home. Anna says:

AW: .. I hinna got a clue fit's happenin until he phones, until time ti get hame (TR.23, AW).

GM: Faan div ye miss im maist?

AW: Weekends, if he's nae at hame weekends (laughs).. Becis aabody else is hame .. so fin they're nae hame it's, it disnae seem right (TR.21, AW).

Men, like women, like routine and spending predictable periods of time at home, although men and women also feel that they have to 'accept' it if their home life is compromised by the demands of fishing.

However, unlike most skippers from other fishing ports, Balnamara skippers do not like to fish on a Sunday: they prefer to spend weekends with their families, and thus they often carry quite a high percentage of Balnamara crewmen, who also like being at home at weekends.

Weekends tend to follow a routine also. Saturday is usually spent in local or Aberdeen shops; and Sunday is a 'family day', where,

apart from attending religious meetings and visiting parents or close relatives, husbands, wives and children stay at home. A fisherman's time ashore is often arranged and managed by his wife.

WN: .. The first thing I get fin I come in i door, "Right, we're gin awa there", an "We're gin awa here". An I say, "Aa right, then .. I jist like ti keep a Sunday a day different, a day .. o quietness, a day o rest, like. Bit Seterday, a day for yer faimily, a faimily day, ken (TR.128-129, WN).

Women and men approve of women's influence in planning their weekend activities.

Sunday night is an interesting period in most couples' relationships: many women express some ambivalence, and sometimes relief, that their husbands leave that evening to go back to work.

GM: Fin i weeken's at an end .. are ye kinna half gled ti see im awa ..

AW: Fin they're hame (laughs) ye wint them awa sometimes, an then fin they're awa ye wint im hame! (AW, Tape 2, p.7).

There does appear to be some tension created when departure routines are broken (see below, CLEANING ROUTINES).

Just as women miss their husbands' support during the week their husbands miss life at home. Many men say they feel unwilling to go back to sea on a Sunday night. Women do not express entirely the same feeling however as they associate weekdays with housework, routine and autonomy.

Alasdair describes how he feels on a Sunday night :

AM: Come Sunday, once ye've hid yer supper, ye've startit ti get that depressed feelin, thit ye know ye're going. Then you think, "There's a bit o a wind. Will

we be goin?" Then you get that false hope. "Maybe I'll be home an extra night". An then ye're not .. even gettin the likes o yer time at home, ken .. Ye push to go home an then ye dread goin back, ken. Bit ye know ye've ti go back - if ye don't [ye don't] get the money. An if ye don't get the money ye won't be able ti keep on yer lifestyle .. It's jist lik a vicious circle really. Come four or five in the efterneen ye think, 'Oh no, I'll hae ti go home an get ma bag packed .. Ye say the goodbyes an cheerios .. Ye're off wi the smart clothes, ye're on wi yer tatty old jeans, an ye're startin ti stink (AM, pp.6-7).

Alasdair suggests that a fisherman's job is so much on his mind and the stress of leaving home is so great on a Sunday that he does not have a full weekend at home.

I asked Anna about how much time Tam spends discussing his work at weekends:

AW: Ye'll get snippets, ken, unless it's onything affa important .. I think he likes ti come hame an forget about it (TR.25, AW).

Men do sometimes speak to their wives about characters and incidents at sea. But a husband deliberately 'tunes out' of fishing so as to concentrate on his wife and family because

WN: Ye've only got thirty six oors, somethin lik at. Ye've jist got ti mak i best o't (TR.129, WN).

WN: .. eence ye're mairriet, ye dinna wint ti go ti the job, ken. Cis ye wint ti be at hame waatchin yer faimily growin up, an be at hame wi yer wife, or fitiver .. Lots o times, I mean, ye gwa on a Sunday night an ye're jist nae on for't at aa. Ye'd jist raither bide at hame .. ye're jist kinna wytin for the en o the week, like (TR.128, WN).

When a young skipper said half-jokingly that he wished he could have another day at home an older skipper indicated that he disapproved of this attitude.

Women also discourage their husbands from wishing to stay at home.

Anna suggests that some young couples are no longer sure that their way of life, including their division of work roles, is the best or only one available. In the mid 1980's, when she got married, she was unaware of other realisable lifestyles.

GM: Wis ye kinna ready for him bein awa sae muckle?

AW: .. I wis used till it cos my dad's a fisherman .. Bit lately I've startit thinkin, well, at's nae normal .. Lik there's mair [choice?] .. 'Normal's bein hame ivery nicht at five o'clock (laughs) (TR.6-7, AW).

At the time of recording Anna's husband was considering leaving the fishing industry to become an oil worker because this was a "better" lifestyle, where he would spend regular, predictable, long periods of time at home. Consequently he now shares roles regarding housework which his wife previously had sole responsibility for.

New economic opportunities, different fishing patterns and new media images continue to slowly influence and change previous gender work divisions in the home in Balnamara.

SETTING UP HOME: ROLE ALLOCATION

Just as my friends think it "natural" or "normal" that they should assume full responsibility upon marriage for housework and home-making, they were all prepared to move to where their husbands thought most convenient for work purposes. This accords with Edgell's conclusion that after marriage house location is determined largely by the husband's occupation (1980, p.61). Women 'accepted' their husbands' decisions. However, because fishermen are regularly absent, many couples later move to be near her family, showing that matrilocality is

prevalent because daily support for a woman is best achieved from amongst her own kin.

Of Amanda, Natalie and Anna, only Anna remained in Balnamara after marrying: her husband made the decision to live in Balnamara because he fished on a Balnamara boat (TR.3, AW). Amanda and Natalie, however, had to move to their husbands' village of residence.

Amanda's fiancé bought their new home without consulting her at all, yet Amanda felt she had to 'accept' his decision.

AW: .. ye've ti go where yer man goes, an at wis it, ken
.. I jist accepted thit I hid ti go there, ken. An jist get
on wi't (TR.41, AW).

Interestingly, it would have been more convenient for her husband to get to work if he had chosen to live in Balnamara. Caladon is only several miles from Balnamara but Amanda had no kin in the village. They later returned to Balnamara.

Natalie, however, adapted and settled into life in Portmore, a town where blood ties and common personal history are not so important factors in making friendships. Her husband then decided he would like his family to move to Balnamara. He did not consult his wife in this decision and this, Natalie told me, she could never forgive him for. Natalie saw this as a turning point in the balance of power in their relationship: she would no longer accept that he had sole right to make such major decisions affecting her and their children.

Amanda benefited from returning to Balnamara largely in terms of family and friends' support. Natalie has similarly benefited, although she had developed some support networks in Portmore. Her husband, although not admitting that he ought to have consulted Natalie, justified his decision to move to Balnamara with the comment, "Bit she says she winna shift oot o Balnamara noo, like" (TR.122, WN).

Moving to a new area can be a traumatic experience for a Balnamara woman, particularly if she moves to another small

'close-knit' fishing village where women already have a network of family, friends and neighbours.

It is probably easier for men to move to their wives' natal village because they are at sea for five days a week with the same crew and set of relationships. On the other hand a young woman depends on her neighbours, family and friends for support on a daily basis, and these needs become primary when couples have children.

THE FEMININE HOME

Two important events associated with the setting up of a home are the reception of wedding gifts at the bride's home before the marriage and the cleaning of the new home by a party of female relatives and friends before residency. Both events are almost exclusively run for and by women, demonstrating the intimate association of women with the home.

Women are responsible for the furnishing of the new home. They are 'naturally' interested in 'home-making' and their control of the aesthetic environment is almost total. Men's major responsibility is to provide the financial means to buy and maintain a house and household.

Much of women's influence derives from the absence of the husband at sea and their full-time status as housewives. Even before they married Anna did most of the preparatory work on their new home while Tam was at sea fishing.

Husbands are consulted on choice of furnishing style and colour but women are as likely to consult female kin and friends. Men are not thought to be naturally interested in such matters and many women say they cannot trust their husbands to make an informed decision anyway.

Anna consulted Tam on the wallpaper designs she liked: but, she claimed, he wasn't interested and had no idea what effects could be achieved by different wallpapers. Instead she consulted her female relatives and friends on a more intent level, seeking their choices and approval.

Anna thought that men have less interest in the aesthetic appearance of the home and that they generally do not have the

necessary creative flair because they have not been accustomed to considering these things. However some men did show interest in aesthetic appearances, notably in cars and houses. My grandfather was several times mentioned as a man who enjoyed and was good at choosing clothes which suited himself, his wife, sons and daughters.

However final decisions are usually left to women, even on the choice of expensive items. When Linda wanted a new carpet both she and Hamish went round the showrooms. She took home samples and asked her daughter, her prospective daughter-in-law and I for our opinions. When she finally asked Hamish his opinion he laughed and refused to say: he said Linda would take what she preferred anyway (see below, HOUSE INTERIORS).

THE SOCIAL VALUE OF CLEANLINESS

For women, to be seen to be cleaning and to be clean, as Amanda points out, is very important:

AW: .. Ye've aye ti be oot waashin yer windaes an keepin yer hoose, an swypin i roads (laughs), an things lik is (laughs). I'm aye oot wi the swypin brush (laughs), makin sure it folk kens I'm bonny an clean (laughs) ... (AW, Tape 2, p.11).

It is noteworthy that Amanda says "I'm bonny an clean" as this shows how she has internalised the physical appearance of her home to reflect her ability as a housekeeper and as a moral human being. Other phrases connecting cleanliness and tidiness in the home demonstrate how standards are internalised to reflect personal ability and moral worth: "She's an affa clean wife", "she's affa clean", or "she's affa parteeclar".

Other terms which express similar sentiments to 'bonny an clean' are 'spotless', 'nae a mark', 'new' or 'spleet new' : these words all suggest positive images of aesthetic, moral or social beauty and public acceptability. There are many more negative terms: these include fool, a sotter, a midden, a track, a sicht, a disgrace, clarty, clartit, muckit, cakit, markit, yirdit and rotten. Censure of

uncleanness is demonstrably very strong and could potentially lead to one being gossiped about.

Close kin are the most likely to criticise a housewife's cleanliness standards as cleanliness and appearances are also factors influencing the social standing of the wider kin group. Two elderly sisters had very different attitudes to housework. Ellen said her sister did too much "gallivantin": her house was "affa fool". Ellen was afraid of others' gossip about her family.

Close kin, particularly mothers, are also, however, the most likely to help a woman maintain high cleanliness standards (see chapter on **WOMEN AND FAMILY NETWORKS**). Friends are crucial in providing reassurance that a woman keeps a socially-acceptably clean home (Oakley, 1974, p.105). When Ellen scrubbed a shared close which Fran had just cleaned Fran was furious and their friendship was consequently severely damaged. Criticism of women who are always 'on the heid o the road' is linked to their dereliction of cleanliness standards in the home and this is also related to their moral virtue in being devoted to husband, house and children.

Women participate, often self-consciously and with some degree of self-irony, in this public exercise, thereby creating and perpetuating a mechanism of personal standards and social competition.

Housework and the high standards required reflect the daily struggle of women to maintain home, family, and community.

CLEANING ROUTINES

Women view housework as work, and thus adopt certain cleaning routines and standards of cleanliness (ibid, p.2). Yet, as Douglas writes, "There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder" (1966, p.2). Women would seem to set their own standards, but comparison with others and comments from mothers give her 'feedback' and ideas of personal success.

Most women establish a routine of what housework they do each week. Monday is cleaning and washing day in Balnamara.

Fishermen generally go off to sea late on Sunday night; thus women are free to tidy up after the weekend. Monday is the main

washing day. Although some women wash and dry a fisherman's clothes within forty-eight hours at the weekend, nowadays most fishermen have at least two sets of clothes. Also, some boats have washing machines. Washing loads, therefore, may have fishermen's clothes, but mainly they comprise of sheets, towels and family clothes.

Some women with children wash clothes nearly every day of the week: thus Monday washing lines are especially full.

On Monday mornings most washing lines are in use: it is a sign, perhaps, of an industrious, responsible, clean wife. Comments such as 'X's line is always full' is a recommendation of the women's abilities, not an insinuation of being dirty.

It is important not only to have your washing on the line but that all your washed items should be stainless, whole, and clean-looking. Colours should be clear. Oakley quotes Betty Friedan who in 1963 remarked on the morality messages for women implicit in media images of washing lines of white linen blowing in the wind. Washing powder adverts in 1996 reiterate largely the same message (Oakley, 1974, p.54).

In Balnamara cleanliness and newness suggest a careful, able housewife, a woman with a developed aesthetic sense of the beauty of clean, new objects, and a sense of duty and pride in her work and family. Old, torn items are not hung in public.

Most women prefer to hang their washing outside rather than inside. Washing drying indoors create a sense of disorder and untidiness. Dirty washing is never properly restored to a space in a cupboard until it is washed and dried, ready for storage, thus restoring order to the physical surroundings. Some women have bought tumble-dryers for use when the weather is bad or for when a quick change of (e.g. fishermen's) clothes is necessary. Ideal conditions are a strong, drying, mild wind on a Monday. While fishermen watch the Sunday lunchtime TV weather forecast for signs of bad weather, women watch for dry weather to dry their washing.

A line of drying clothes is a symbol of a housewife working: Mary showed me a clothes-horse full of clothes, then took me upstairs to show me her loft full of lines of drying washing. She felt

stressed that she had so much to wash and that she couldn't hang clothes outside because of wet weather. She said she dreaded her son's laundry bag after two weeks at sea. She wished the fishing season were over so that she could get the end of season washing over with.

Sometimes the turnaround period for washing fishermen's clothes is less than thirty-six hours. Wet weather and a Sunday ban on non-religious work impedes women. Many women dry clothes over radiators to avoid publicly breaking the Sabbath.

Occasionally, when I opened Linda's back door I caught the faint smell of oil and fish from my uncle's woollen jumpers which were drying on the radiators.

Stella, however, has for several years hung out her washing on a Sunday. Her daughter, too, does the same, despite other's disapproval.

It was not only when you did your washing but how that mattered. Barbara would take garments out of the washing machine one at a time, shake and reshape the items, then fold them carefully, beating them flat into squares before placing them in a basket or onto a tray, ready for hanging up. I was always impressed by her attention to detail, and I think she enjoyed my admiration.

Some women create categories of clothing which can almost 'contaminate' one another. Margaret hangs her towels and underwear on one line, and other things on another: she corrected me for mixing them!

Although she was in her eighties she told me she washed her clothes and sheets every Monday, as she always had done.

Ironing is taken just as seriously. Even men's working clothes are ironed. Linda irons working clothes to get rid of creases, then folds them carefully and puts them in neat piles, ready for packing into the men's kit bags. Mary keeps her son's fishing clothes separate from other clothes in a cupboard near the back door incase they have an odour. The clothes are piled extremely neatly.

Linda packs her son and husband's fishing bags: on Sunday evenings, if the men are leaving at midnight to go fishing, she packs their bags while they sit and chat.

Washing and drying fishing clothes is one of the main routine markers among various tasks women do during the weekend.

Monday morning is marked not only by more washing - of bedclothes, towels and family clothes - but also by cleaning and dusting. Women like to vacuum daily: so if she does not vacuum at the weekend she is particularly keen to restore standards and vacuum on Monday mornings. I knew not to visit my friends on Monday mornings: they were too busy tidying up after the weekend.

Women work extremely hard on Mondays, consequently removing traces of the disorder left during their husbands' weekend visit. Balnamara women regard the weekends as times when their houses are 'redd doon', so that they have to 'redd up' on Mondays. 'Doon' and 'up' themselves perhaps suggest disorder, even moral disorder, followed by order, which may be related to the notion of the 'naturalness' of routine and of gender roles. However, even if their husbands do not return at the weekend, women have to tidy up on Mondays since they are not supposed to work on Sundays.

The disruption of a weekend is incorporated into routine and dealt with on a Monday; thus disruption itself is treated as routine by the women who know they should be 'clear' on a Monday to clean. Many women express anxiety if they think their routines could be interrupted if their husbands do not go off to sea on a Sunday night. Stella often expresses anxiety and annoyance with her husband if he is at home on a weekday, or if she thinks he isn't pushing himself to go to sea. She will encourage him to go with the rest of the boats so that she can, like the rest of the women in the village, get on with cleaning. Anna too also expresses annoyance if Tam interrupts her cleaning routine by being around the house for more than a couple of days. She doesn't mind so much if he busies himself out of doors, if he goes out in his boat or in the car, or if he works in the shed. On one occasion, when she knew Tam would be home for some

five weeks, she announced that this was a good opportunity for him to get some jobs done around the house: the jobs she mentioned were mostly exterior jobs.

CLEANING STANDARDS

Women clean more vigorously once they know their husbands are returning home. The vigour reflects their excitement and wish to appear to be efficient wives.

However high house-cleaning standards are mirrored by the hard work ethic among fishermen. Hard work is seen as integral to the prosperity of the home. By working hard women prove that they work and prove that they are 'morally fit' women.

Women express frustration at being isolated in their homes from friends, family and their husbands, particularly if they have young children who require constant attention. Women deal with the isolation and loneliness by working harder, and by setting higher standards of cleanliness and child-care to occupy them and give them a sense of achievement.

Spending longer to achieve higher standards to stop oneself feeling bored and lonely seemed to me self-defeating as it continues the pattern of social isolation and boredom. When I discussed this with Anna she laughed at the contradiction and agreed. Yet her housework standards and behaviour did not alter.

Anna's comment above concurs with Oakley's findings, that housewives identified boredom and loneliness as the worst features of housework. These two features affected women's liking of their role but the hours worked and the lack of technological help did not (1974, p.98), demonstrating that restoration of standards and consequent personal satisfaction were more important than time spent on housework. This would appear to be true also for women in Balnamara.

MALE CLEANLINESS

Women maintain very high standards of housewifery; men recognise this and seldom make criticisms. Indeed there is evidence to suggest that men themselves highly value cleanliness

aboard fishing boats, particularly in relation to food and personal hygiene. Hygiene is given greater emphasis on larger boats which have the space and facilities to encourage cleanliness. Sandy was embarrassed by asking the boat's cook to change dirty dishtowels more frequently: he did not like to correct others' work. If the cook was sick Hamish was too fussy about hygiene to allow anyone but himself, the skipper, to cook. Paul employs older cooks because young cooks are "nae verra clean" (TR.166, NW). Iain's son-in-law criticised Iain for not washing and shaving daily: he was, he told him, like a rat in a nest.

John joked that Tom's boat was like the 'Black Hole of Calcutta' but that his wife kept their house like a palace, where Tom probably could hardly sit down.

Yet fishermen know that the boat and the home represent different environments, generally the unclean and the clean: men immediately remove their fishing clothes, wash and put on clean, 'home' clothes when they return home.

When Stella complained about the amount of washing she had to do for her men folk at weekends I suggested that she ask them to use the washing machine themselves. Stella said she had tried this but that she would just have to wash the clothes again herself to get them clean. Her daughter-in-law agreed. When Linda moaned that her son came home only for her to wash his clothes Linda's husband objected that she wouldn't let her son near the washing machine. Linda justified her behaviour by saying that she had been brought up to believe she was responsible for the home, and that cleaning, therefore, was her job.

Amanda's comment shows how women like to be independent and to believe that their standards cannot be equalled, certainly not by men:

AW: .. if ye dee't yersel I think aathing's deen better.
I jist like ti dee't masel, ken it's deen richt, ken. If he
wis ti dee it I dinna think I wid trust im onywey (AW,
Tape 2, p.8).

MAINTAINING STANDARDS, SELF-REWARD AND PUNISHMENT

Women impose their own cleaning standards and so feel guilty if they feel they are enjoying leisure time which they feel they have not worked hard enough for (Oakley,1974).

In Balnamara women regard time until the children are in bed as work time, and thereafter as leisure time. If ironing needs done, however, a woman might do this while watching TV. Thus women are generally willing to work as many hours as they feel necessary to achieve personal standards, even if it means compromising on their leisure time.

Anna and I exercised daily to a satellite aerobics programme and would, afterwards, have a coffee and a chat. If, however, it was the start of the week, if Tam was due home, or if Anna felt the house was particularly untidy or unclean, she couldn't relax. On one occasion she placed the vacuum in the room before we began exercising, and as soon as we had finished she began vacuuming, saying apologetically, "I'm faain ahin wi ma hoosewirik - bit ee dinna hiv ti gang awa si seen".

When I offered Stella a meal she refused because she had ironing to do: "I'm faain ahin wi ma hoosewirik".

Another popular phrase is "I hinna gotten oot o the bit the day". Brigid complained that time just seemed to 'fly by' and that, despite my reassurances about her housework skills, she didn't know how she had achieved so little. Women complained that their work seemed invisible: this was often because so little needed done and standards were always high, and sometimes because they despaired at how often they had to repeat the same task. Oakley describes this as the "unconstructive nature of housework tasks" which are emotionally frustrating because housework is never finished (ibid., p.46).

Thus sticking to a routine and set of standards, and keeping an active, guilty conscience are two ways of avoiding one's own and others' criticism of moral and physical torpitude.

MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES

Both Natalie and Amanda said that they were bored as newly-married housewives: their furniture and furnishings were new, so required less care; and they had no children to care for. Natalie grew obsessive about cleanliness: "ee eest ti go roon cleanin i clean".

Other women said they have similar experiences. Amy rang Joyce at ten o'clock one morning: she was crying because she had cleaned the house twice that morning and couldn't find anything else to do.

Natalie, Amy and Amanda all suffered from stress because of, ironically, over-achievement of their own goals.

Their stress levels remained high when they had children as they fought to maintain previous cleanliness standards. Natalie responded by indulging her husband less and by expecting him to do more housework.

Once her children went to school Natalie had 'an identity crisis' because, by now easily achieving her high housework standards, she had lots of spare time and felt bored and stressed.

Women often express low morale and low self-esteem in relation to their roles as housewives. They frequently feel that they fail to keep up with the amount of work they 'have' to do, and that they aren't achieving the standard they feel they ought to achieve: this appears in comments such as "ma hoose is an affa midden", "excuse the midden", and so on, although sometimes I felt expected to point out that they were not 'in a midden'.

Joyce thought it hilarious that when her neighbour nervously apologised for the "midden" her house was, she meant only that her child's trousers lay on the living room settee. For Joyce a "midden" meant something far less tidy.

Helen said with embarrassment that she was in a muddle but we'd get 'something' to eat. To me, her kitchen looked spotless; and her hospitality was perfection. Similarly, her daughter-in-law Brigid felt guilty that the day had gone by and she didn't know what she 'did with the time': she could see no physical improvement and felt unsatisfied. Helen 'did nothing' some days and therefore felt "disappintit". "Disappintit" means feeling let-

down and may even allude to depression. Helen tried to rationalise her feelings of 'disappointment' as showing a lack of Christian faith: "it's fear, nae faith". On another occasion she said she felt "low", and couldn't get her housework done; however, she added, "we've deen aa we cud for wir fishermen", meaning that women fulfilled their roles as well as they could.

Mood affects one's sense of competency: it "reflects on the deeply personal nature of the housewife's relationship to her role" (ibid., p.52). A housewife internalises her ability to clean as a mark of ability and self-worth, so that any perceived failure to achieve her standards leads to low self-esteem and this in turn feeds her sense of ineptitude (ibid., p.47).

Young women attribute low morale and depression to: the difficulties of being a lone parent, to doing a job which has low social status and no monetary reward, and to having few educational qualifications to enable them to have a separate role from housewife and mother roles.

Women now recognise that their low self-esteem may be, in part, attributable to the denigration of the roles of housewife and mother more generally in British society (ibid., p.47), even though these roles are still held to be very important locally, as well as to the discouragement of them having interests other than in their roles as mothers, wives and housewives.

Anna kept saying that she was just a boring housewife who could do nothing but housework. She often wished to retrain and get a paid, interesting job. She experienced boredom frequently as a housewife and internalised her boredom to see herself therefore as a boring person (Edgell, 1980, p.67). This self-perception demoralised her and often stopped her from making changes. On some occasions however she was looking for reassurance from me of her personal and social worth as a housewife and mother.

Another woman commented that she was "nae eese for nithin bit scrapin pans!" but she said this with a coy smile at her husband, aware of her reputation in the house and in the community for high housewife standards of cleanliness and femininity.

Many women say they are required by the family and community to 'cope'. They publicly assert their ability to be independent

and to manage but they also frequently require assurance and support from close friends and family.

Young women believe that age brings experience and thus confidence. However this is not always the case: Mary, in her late sixties, constantly frets about her housework standards and quickly takes offence if her family insinuate that she is not fully competent.

BARGAINING FOR RECOGNITION

Women point out that they are never off duty, unlike fishermen who come home to relax and for whom there is a complete separation of official work and home time (cf. Oakley, 1974, p.45). Women are aware of how much work they do to support their families and they occasionally like men's recognition of this. Stella told her husband and son "I'm tired. I am tired. I've run aboot efter ye aa eer": she wanted a holiday, she said. Stella then said to me "They aye ken they'll get a denner here", perhaps ruefully admitting her constant willingness to care for them. Although their husbands are 'off' work at weekends women, almost single-handedly, facilitate family life. When tired and feeling under-valued Stella would remind her husband and son of the meals she fed them and how they got "tay handit inti yer haan" and of how "I hinna heen a seat i day, cookin an lookin efter you lot since first thing is mornin".

On one occasion she threatened to go away for the day. She later pressed for a holiday as recognition of her work, and got it. When Tam's new job required him to spend even less time at home his wife said if she were to agree to it she would have to get a new car and a foreign holiday.

Thus women can assert their influence and power in the home and expect material recognition of their work.

I seldom heard men criticise females' abilities as housewives although I never heard them congratulate them explicitly. Oakley also found that less than half of the husbands in her study commented positively on their wives' household abilities (ibid., p.105). But, equally, it was only infrequently that I heard women

voice appreciation of their husbands' contributions to the household.

AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM

Anna appreciates the freedom and power the gender work division gives her as a female. She is her own boss, determining her own routine and standards (TR.7, AW).

Amanda agrees:

AW: .. I think I'm rael independent, like. Well, I get - really rin the hoose, ken (AW, Tape 2, p.7).

Oakley found that the most valued quality of the housewife role her informants identified was autonomy, but Oakley also pointed out that autonomy was theoretical - the housewife imposed an obligation to do the housework (1974, pp.42-3); and this sense of obligation to work harder could escalate.

Autonomy has another negative aspect. Oakley notes that women found being constantly responsible for children and the home was a negative aspect of housework (ibid, p.44). In Balnamara the pressure of this is potentially greater because men are completely absent so often. However this may be off-set to some extent by women's experience of this as a child and their expectation of men's minimal level of participation.

MALE PARTICIPATION IN HOUSEWORK

Mary commented that she does too much housework for her son because he expects that his mother, or whomever he marries, will maintain high housework standards. Mary admires her daughter however, who has taught her children to do housework.

Natalie insists that her children, both male and female, do housework to earn pocket-money; laxness is fined.

Natalie also expects her husband to do some housework.

Whereas before she "maybe mollycoddled him lik a baby" (TR.55, NN) and was herself treated "lik a slave" (TR.56, NN), she says she then

NN: laid doon ma rules an I stuck ti them. An he's .. his changed drastically ti fit he wis (TR.56, NN).

Natalie, Nancy and Anna all blame their husbands' mothers for 'mollycoddling' their sons, so that males leave all domestic work to women. Anna, herself a housewife and mother, understands how much work her mother did for her; and Anna thinks her brother, who still lives at home, should learn to do more domestic work for himself.

When Natalie's husband took her to a jeweller's shop to buy her a watch for Christmas she announced to him in the shop that she did not want yet another "I'm sorry" present; she would far rather that he helped her do the numerous small household tasks she had to do every day.

When Willy became an oil worker and spent longer periods at home Natalie's pleas for assistance became more urgent.

However, if he had become a boat skipper he would have had 'boat's business' to attend to, and Natalie would most likely have expected less of him.

Although Sandy, a skipper, helps with child-care and will occasionally empty the dish-washer his wife and he both assume that his first priority is attending to his boat's business. Brigid said sympathetically that, when at home, Sandy was always on the phone to fishing partners.

Nancy says her husband is 'good with the kids', and he might empty the dishwasher, but she doesn't expect any more from him: she blames his mother for molly-coddling him. Yet, when Nancy had a full-time, paid job he would load his own dirty fishing clothes into the washing machine. Now that she has children and has become a full-time housewife he does virtually no housework (Oakley, 1974, p.158). Unlike Natalie, Nancy does not demand his participation in housework.

Once women became full-time housewives they feel they are expected, and most expect, to do all the housework. They blame their mothers-in-law for educating their sons not to help themselves but do not generally believe that they can introduce much change to their own marriages.

Although women explain men's non- or selective participation in housework as the fault of their mothers men generally give a different reason. Willy thinks his wife has "plenty time through the week to shop and to do housework: he looks to do other things at the weekend because "Ye've only got thirty six oors .. Ye've got ti mak i best o't" (TR.129, WN) - 'the best of it' meaning enjoying family life, leisure pursuits and religious worship. Tam began spontaneously to help Anna with housework and child-care, once he was less frequently at sea. One day when I called Tam was cleaning the kitchen roof. Anna and I sat and drank coffee. Anna seemed embarrassed but pleased that Tam was helping her. He, teasing her, kept exclaiming at how dirty she had let the ceiling become. Anna joked of how she had a 'new man' who contrasted with most other men in the village. However, Anna's own dad did housework, and thus probably Anna finds Tam's new behaviour easier to accept than would some other women.

Although Oakley claims that satisfaction with marriage was higher for women whose husbands contributed significantly to housework (ibid., p.149) I cannot claim the same insight for Balnamara. Many women indicated they were happy with their husbands, whether or not they contributed little or much to housework.

Most young women appreciate help in the house from their husbands: Natalie and Anna talk about their need for a 'break' from the kids and housework routines.

Anna and Natalie expect their husbands to help with housework and child-care when they are at home for longer periods. Other young women whose husbands come home only for weekends do not seem to expect more help from their husbands, but this varies according to the couple involved. Anna and Natalie are examples of women who are aware of media role models of the participatory husband and who slowly introduce these ideas into their own relationships, despite having started their marriages using a different local role model.

Pelagic fishermen spend longer, continuous periods of time at home: having extra time at home creates the opportunity for

change in marriage roles. Influence of media images and ideas about marriage roles may also promote change.

Perhaps, just as some men are taking a more active role in 'women's work', some women are taking a say and giving support to their husbands in fishing matters.

Among some couples, however, change may be less desired and less evident: for example, Amanda commented:

AW: I dinna like im ti dee the cleanin .. Cos if ye dee't yersel, I think aathing's deen better .. I dinna think I wid trust im onywey.

AW: He widnae dee't if I wis here cos he wid think I wid be makin the fool o im, ken (AW, Tape 2, p.8).

Amanda also says that Sam is good at, and is happy to, cook,

"bit cleanin's - at's a different set o't. I dinna like im ti dee the cleanin (AW, Tape 2, p.8).

When I asked if Sam would vacuum the living room, Amanda said "he wid think I wid be makin the fool o im, ken" (AW, Tape 2, p.8). When Hamish joked to his wife Linda that he could stay at home and send her out to work, for he could cook, Linda replied that he did not, however, like cleaning. He laughed, conceding her point.

Thus, cleaning is seen as a female activity and responsibility, but cooking is less so.

Linda and Hamish share the same attitude to Amanda and Sam: although Hamish, Linda admits, can cook, he can't clean, at least not to the standard Linda sets.

Similarly, Philip says he does nothing about the house, except, rarely, take the children for a walk, or cook a meal.

Oakley says that the men she interviewed were, similarly, only selectively involved in housework: they chose to do things which were more creative, for example cooking and child-care activities (ibid., p.138). However men in Balnamara are usually required to cook or help cook while at sea; but affection and changing role

images for men which stress a man's involvement with his children are more likely reasons than creative urges to explain their involvement with their children.

Thus different couples respond variously to the opportunity to alter traditional gender divided work roles. Some men think certain work roles are unnatural or that their wives are asserting influence over them, or couples may feel a husband has too little time at home at weekends to get involved in housework; or couples may wish to preserve the demarcation lines of work roles to preserve their influence and self-esteem; or husbands may empathise with their wives or enjoy being involved in housework. Increasingly variety in working styles has given couples the opportunity to alter their work division patterns.

Most young women I knew wished they had worked harder at school and gained some educational qualifications. However, none said having a job would lower their housework standards. Women feel confident in their housekeeping skills and wish to retain this confidence and skill, but augment it with a more private, personal interest in paid work.

AUTHORITY

Men say that it is women who run the homes: they add that it cannot be otherwise because fishing requires them to be absent all week. They say that the women have most influence over the children, over expenditure and over the general running of the household. They add clauses, however: their earning power gives them ultimate financial authority, and their male sexuality gives them authority in religious matters. Men's authority, however, is ideological: both men and women say that women, by virtue of being 'like a single parent' all week, are in control of household and family.

Oakley (*ibid.*, p.144) found that working-class women were more likely than middle-class women to be responsible for household expenditure and money decisions. Class marks the segregation of the roles, Oakley argues, but in Balnamara the practicalities of weekday banking hours and men's weekday absence means the arrangement cannot be otherwise.



Anna comments:

AW: Apairt fae oot workin makin i money, at's aa he dis. Ken, as regards financial things. I pey aa the bills, bankin, tik note ... (TR.12, AW).

Anna explains:

AW: It's difficult if he comes hame on, say, a Seterday, fin aa wey's shut (TR.13, AW) (Oakley,1974, p.144).

This is reiterated by Willy:

WN: An, bein at the fishin, nae bein affen at hame, ye canna .. tik an affa lot mair ti dee, ken .. I mak aa the major decisions, bit ee've jist got ti leave aa the day ti day runnin ti Natalie, ken (TR.130, WN).

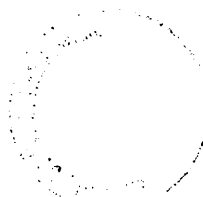
PA: .. ye see, it jist comes back ti the fishin again cos it's different fae ony ither job, ken. Cos ye're awa for five days an only hame for two, ken (TR.194, PA).

However although Willy claims to make the "major decisions" he found it difficult to give examples. He at first claimed responsibility for his children's education as an example, but then added that he had to go along with what the school offered his children.

Paul agrees:

PA: [Women] they're the bosses in the hoose, like, ay. They bring up i bairns an aathin, ee see .. It's up ti them, like. Ee've ti leave it ti them, like (TR.192, PA);

and



PA: .. the weemin's the bosses, ken, really. Because they're hame aa week, they're in the hoose, ken fit I mean. So they're the bosses here, like (TR.192, PA).

For the male partner

WN: .. Well, obviously the biggest responsibility is ti tik in e wage (TR.130, WN).

MANAGING INCOME

Most men see themselves as "bosses", not in the home, but in regard to the overall management of income and savings.

Edgell states that the breadwinner usually makes the major financial decisions (1980, p.59); but this statement does not take account of the degree of influence women, certainly Balnamara women, have on major decisions. Indeed it is hard to agree on a definition of major decisions as women control and spend a large amount of money annually. Some fishermen say they occasionally look at bills and savings with their wives but men's daily control is passive and theoretical.

Large items of expenditure may involve a joint decision, such as in planning a holiday or buying a car. The woman will get the holiday brochures and probably choose the holiday which suits both her and the children best; and if they decide together on a particular model of car, referring largely to his opinion on best models, she will point out her and her children's needs and will choose the colour and interior design.

Men claim an ideological control of finances and spending but women both manage and spend the money. Bell and Newby (1976, p.161) argue, however, that the husband's flexibility in expression of roles allows him to maintain the differentiation of power between him and his wife. In Balnamara the power is theoretical and women recognise the value of having practical power as it can undermine ideological power.

Women feel guilty about claiming near total control of the family income while their husbands have so little practical control over expenditure. This is more because women want to recognise their

husbands' emotional and practical contributions, and less because he has greater status as a wage-earner.

Women also accept that men are the ideological head of the household, but that women have practical control. Christian doctrine supports this model of the male being the ideological head of the secular and religious family. For both men and women the Christian ideology explaining the gender division of power in religious terms is an acceptable compromise because in other areas of experience women have substantial practical control.

FINANCES, MANAGEMENT AND PERCEPTIONS OF POWER AND INFLUENCE

Money is an important area where power and status boundaries between couples are negotiated.

Men I spoke to seemed undecided or unsure of the balance of male/female power in relation to making decisions regarding income and the family. Men constantly say that their wives are the bosses in the house and that they control spending, especially spending on food, clothes and household bills. Men claim, however, that they take the major decisions about investments, insurance, pensions and savings. Nonetheless, their wives operate their accounts and, in some cases at least, the men are unaware of how much is in their bank accounts.

Men and women both say that the husband always gives his wife his pay packet for her to bank or spend as she sees fit. I frequently heard the phrases "He jist haans me the pey-packet", or "I jist gie her i pey packet" from both men and women.

This action seems to have a degree of symbolism for both partners. The act of 'handing over' suggests conscious recognition of gender difference and gender responsibilities. It also suggests different conceptions of power within the relationship. Men say "give", suggesting that he chooses to invest her with the responsibility of spending the money; but women say that their husbands "hand" them the money, as if she has stated her right to receive it.

One taped interview is particularly interesting for highlighting the ambiguity in gender and power relations in relation to work, the home and finances: when I asked Paul if he would "oversee" what his wife does with the income he hesitated and said

PA: .. we usually tik a look on Sunday at aa wir bills .. Bit she dis it aa, like. She gis up ti the bank an dis aa the business .. wi the hoose... (TR.194, PA), and "She dis aathin ti dee wi the hoose" (TR.193-4, PA).

But Elinor then comments that "some weeks" (TR.194, P. & E.A) they don't bother, that Paul doesn't "ask" (TR.194, P. & EA).

Asking may imply a right, or it can imply a request, but Elinor emphasises her practical autonomy.

Nancy commented to her aerobic friends that her husband Willy asked her for money when they were on holiday abroad. When I asked Nancy about this Nancy reacted defensively, saying that this arrangement was practical: because Willy was working she had to order the travellers' cheques in her name; she carried a handbag but he didn't, so she also carried the money; and Willy "trusts" her because she isn't as "laxadasical" with money as he is. When I asked Paul if he agreed with the bible which suggests that "the male .. is superior ti the wife" (TR.194, PA), Paul, a church elder, agreed that "maybe at wid be richt" (TR.194, PA). He then adds "Bit nae in the hoose" (TR.194, PA) and his further hesitation indicates ambiguity:

PA: Bit I wid say thit maybe I am the boss over aa .. Ay, nae the boss, bit ye ken, I wid hae the final word over aa, ken (TR.194, PA).

Paul is shy of using the word "boss" but is happy with having the "final word". Being the breadwinner gives him theoretical clout in major financial decisions which affect him and his family (Edgell, 1980, p.59), but he admits that his practical level of power in the household is limited.

Paul claims to delegate financial power and control to his wife. Pahl suggests that when a husband's income is considerable he delegates responsibility for its management to his wife, but he retains overall control (1989, p.120). Paul's situation would appear to fit Pahl's model except that Paul has no choice:

PA: Ye see, it jist comes back ti the fishin again cos it's different fae ony ither job, ken. Cos ye're awa for five days an ony hame for two, ken (TR.194, PA).

Elinor knows how much practical power over spending she has:

EA: He disnae wirk wi neen o the money. He jist tiks hame the money an I ..

PA: Spend it!

EA: ... dee fit I like wi't really. I could spen the hale lot an he wid niver ken. Ken. Some weeks he disnae ask fit I've deen wi't, ken, he jist hands it, the peypacket, ti me. An he asks me for money (TR.194-5, P. & EA).

They comment that most young couples share this pattern of responsibilities. Older couples however seem to have evolved to a similar division of financial responsibility from a situation where many women were simply given an allowance and their husbands banked the wage.

Paul relates the ambiguity of his position regarding their children to the ambiguity of his power over household expenditure by explaining that she controls most things because he is absent. Although Linda operates their account, paying all the bills and buying family clothes, furniture and so on, she still feels she is looking after "his" money. Younger couples view the income more as a shared property, although it is difficult for women to be confident when reminding their husbands of their equal stake in power when spending money because earning money gives one status.

Pahl (1989, pp.124-5) notes that there is a moral superiority attached to earning but not to spending. This was borne out in

the following example: Anna complained to Natalie and I that her husband had argued with her on the phone, criticising her for spending too much money. Anna had bought some new clothes for their children, herself and her husband; and she had bought some new house furnishings. Anna protested that he always was nagging her to save but Anna didn't feel she was profligate with money. Natalie and I offered her support: I said it was probably because of his feelings of job insecurity: and Natalie said a woman has to spend to keep the household going. Anna, still disheartened, said resentfully that she was going to 'go mad' at him when he came back for pressurising her and criticising her decisions. She felt she managed their money responsibly and that she 'deserved' to be able to buy things because she ran the house and brought up the children on her own for most of the year. Linda believed that she managed 'his' money. Hence, for some women, believing that a woman looks after her husband's, not their shared, money may be, for people like Linda, a way of encouraging fishermen's wives to spend and save wisely, especially since a woman is theoretically accountable to her husband.

Nancy says Willy doesn't know how much money there is in their joint savings account. She suggests that Willie is atypical; but it seems likely that most fishermen do not generally know the exact amount in their joint bank accounts.

Most women have a ledger book or filing system to note all expenditure and income. When I visited Linda one day she was checking off her cheque book stubs against a bank statement - "I dinna like onythin ti be wrang", she said, suggesting that she saw her ability as a money handler as a reflection of her ability as a wife.

This was the first time I had seen any woman working with household accounts, although I had seen Anna make a transaction in a building society and saw Stella bank several cheques. This probably reflects the private nature of household finance management.

Women keep a record of financial transactions partly because their husbands are self-employed and thus must keep a financial record for income tax purposes. Thus when Sam became a self-employed lorry driver it was not so difficult for Amanda to keep his books, although she did worry about the level of detail required.

Women usually approach their husbands about important investment decisions or official forms they do not understand. Nancy said she managed their bank account independently but whenever something worried her or official forms needed signing she consulted Willie. Anna also relied on Tam to advise on filling in official forms, and she left him to arrange details of insurance: she, however, would operate the account by making payments.

AW: .. insurance, lik hoose insurance, car insurance?
.. He usually dis at. Em, phones aroon, gets i best
quote, aa that .. I wid niver dee at on ma own. At's lik
a joint thing. Bit, lik, if it's ti be renewed, or keepin it
on, I pey the bills automatically (TR.12-13, AW).

Although Anna says taking out insurance is a joint decision she leaves him to make the financial decision. Edgell (1980, p.59) also demonstrates how a woman gathers information but the breadwinner, her husband, takes the decision. Women lack confidence in taking such decisions.

Anna said their bank account, like their house, is in both their names. Nancy suggests that the same is true for their bank account (TR.75-77, NS). Natalie said her account was joint. However, she has a private account of her own which her husband knew nothing of. It is unclear whether she keeps her own earnings or joint earnings in it. Natalie added that she didn't want her husband to know everything about her and she laughed. None of the other women present admitted doing the same and seemed embarrassed to hear this. Natalie may feel greater need for security (see WN's comments above); she may be planning for a

possible break in her relationship with her husband; or, more likely, she may be asserting her independence. Fishermen are not guaranteed a weekly wage, so women try to save money.

NS: I widnae squan .. blaa ma money up to ma last penny. I ayewis like ti hae summing there (TR.68-69, NS).

GM: Div you worry aboot the financial side o things an at?

AW: Oh ay .. yer man could hae a good week ey week an then next week he could hae nithing, ken - dependin on the wither, or he micht nae even be awa cos o the wither, ken. Ye're nae sure o a wage every week (Tape 2, AW, transcript now lost).

Women are aware of the structural change the industry continues to go through, and how fishermen may feel restless if they have no shares and are not getting a high wage; and E.E.C. rules add stress.

This awareness means that young fishermen's wives know to save and invest money. However, women of their mothers' and grandmothers' ages criticise the visible financial strategies of young fisher families. Ellen, in her eighties, said that young fishermen's wives now "jist spen as they gang"; they think nothing of getting a large mortgage, whereas previous generations would not take on such debt. This may echo a comment made of young fishermen in Balnamara: they no longer save to buy a boat as they once did but invest instead in material goods such as a better car.

Ellen thought women nowadays didn't appreciate how hard men worked for their wage:

"If the weemin in Balnamara cud see fit their men his ti face gaan ti sea, they widnae be sae willin ti spen sae easily".

Linda also believes she should save her husband's wages as a mark of respect for how hard fishermen work. However, Anna, in

her twenties, also believes that men work extremely hard for their wages and that they deserve their high income. This remark was extremely interesting because it was a response to my saying there was a huge differential locally between men's and women's wages.

Thus Anna shares Linda and Ellen's admiration for fishermen. Women 'run' the household using her husband's wages. Women have some bargaining power in relation to his wage-earning role, especially when the family will be affected: when Willy 'packed in' his job his wife made him go back "tail atween his legs" (TR.61, NN) to ask for his job back. He had to "dee fit he wis tellt" (TR.61, NN). She told him she could 'do nothing with a hundred pounds a week', and she constantly worried about income and job security when Willy was 'chance-shottin'. Willy recognised Natalie's anxiety and described it as her greater need for "security":

WN: Natalie worries mair thit, "Well, is he gin ti hae a job next week, is he gin ti tik in a pey?" .. she thinks it's a big thing - ye've got ti hae a berth an ye've got ti be sure o yer money comin in.
.. Bit security isnae a thing it bathers me like, ken
(TR.126-7, WN).

Willy felt sure he'd always get a job because he's a "good man" (good worker) (TR.127, WN).

Hard work is highly valued in Balnamara, and Willy's confidence and seeming dismissal of the importance of having a secure job is not representative of Balnamara as a whole. However there are several other men who chance-shot.

Amanda found it a very unsettling and stressful period because "ye dinna ken if he's gaan ti hae a berth next week" (AW, Tape 2, p.4).

Women are very aware of the economic environment their husbands work in as it has implications for the economic security of the family.

Amanda explains why Willy chose to chance-shot: there are plenty of berths, and he is dissatisfied with just a crewman's wage. Amanda thinks that there are many other crewmen who don't have shares and who are similarly dissatisfied and uncommitted to any single boat. Whereas men of her father's generation stayed aboard a boat for twenty years, now men stay barely five years if they do not have boat shares.

Natalie and Amanda sympathise with their husbands' struggle for job satisfaction and financial reward and even though they worry about security of income they support their husbands' efforts to find a better job.

Tam changed job twice within the space of eighteen months. His first move was from one purse boat to another because he wanted greater financial reward. Anna felt ill with stress. When he later faced unemployment Anna said that she thought sometimes that Tam had done the wrong thing; money wasn't everything. But, she added, it wasn't wrong to want to better oneself.

Generally she supports Tam's plans to change job but he initiates the moves.

It is worthwhile comparing Natalie's comment - "I jist tak a say, I jist dig ma heels in" - with that of a purse skipper:

SG: I widnae hae nae interference fae nae wives in i
fishin at aa .. The wives shidnae hae nae interest in't
at aa. They're nae directly involved (TR.163-4, SG).

It is easier for women whose men folk own and work on smaller boats to have influence on fishing matters and income. Natalie's husband, like Stella's husband John, is a prawn fisherman. Stella occasionally offers her husband her advice (which is often resisted by her husband and son). She is also occasionally required to order spare parts for the boat or to ring the fish-sales office. However, although it is more likely that small boat owners' wives have more influence on boat matters, both Natalie and Stella are regarded locally as being unusually outspoken. They also pay little heed to ideas restricting women's roles in the fishing.

Undeniably, women's lack of direct involvement in catching, processing and selling the fish is one reason why women have so little influence and why they feel they themselves have little reason to comment on their husband's livelihood. However, I found no evidence when chatting to older women that Balnamara women ever had much direct say in their husbands' livelihood. This counters what some have suggested of other fishing villages in Scotland(c.f. Margaret King, *Time Quines*). Clearly, however, women do have significant influence on their husbands' careers by raising questions and worries about the implications of career moves for the family's finances.

SPENDING ON CHILDREN

Men and women appear to differ in beliefs about the amount of money which should be spent on children: Anna said she bought all the children's clothes, but her husband thought she spent too much on them (TR.12, AW).

Natalie and Anna feel their spending on their children is justified. Blumberg (1993, p.14) argues that women ensure better standards of child nutrition and health and a more balanced pattern of spending on children of different genders when women control spending. Balnamara women suggest that men don't realise sometimes how much money is required to 'keep a hoose gaan'.

Balnamara men's criticisms may stem from financial/economic insecurity, a lack of understanding of a child's personal and social needs, or from a worry that by getting 'too much' as youngsters children will not feel the same need to save and invest their own wages when adults.

Hamish praised one grandchild for his shrewdness in saving money, but criticised his other grandchild for preferring to spend his.

Will resented how his mother-in-law bought Will's son copious amounts of presents: the child would have no sense of the value of money.

Many old people make general criticisms that young people now get too much, that they don't appreciate the effort a parent has

put into buying the present, and that children now don't appreciate what it is 'to do without'. Older people think that the present generation of parents themselves never had to 'want'. Although Tam criticised how much his wife spent on their children both he and Anna criticised Natalie for being too circumspect; yet Natalie's husband criticised her for being over-generous to her children. Natalie, however, thought Anna gave her children too much: they wouldn't appreciate the 'value of money' - how hard it had been worked for, and how it should be conserved.

Although a public appearance of respectability and wealth is commended, 'grandeur', or excessiveness is not. Sometimes the line trodden is a thin one. Women privately criticise other women for excessive spending: a retired man remarried and his new wife was accused of excess by selling a perfectly good house just to spend money on refurbishing another. Nothing would be "graan" enough for her.

Flora made many scathing remarks about one of my neighbours who had got her family so much into debt that their house had been repossessed by the bank. Privately it was said that she was extravagant, uncaring of her husband and proud.

Linda's husband is a retired skipper. They live in the town's most expensive housing area, run two cars and have at least two holidays per year. Nonetheless Linda denied that they were wealthy: he had worked hard to earn every penny he made. What he earned they had looked after, she said.

She described how slowly they changed from being council house tenants to bungalow owners; but they bought the bungalow only when they could pay cash.

Linda was very proud of her husband's attitude towards working practice on the boat: he was honest, hard working and he treated his men like family members. On occasion he had denied himself a wage so that his crew would have one, paralleling the imagery of the self-sacrifice of a parent to provide for those in his/her care.

Although Hamish and Linda built a bungalow on a street occupied mainly by skippers she furnished her new house with carpets

from her previous house. Linda thought that to throw out perfectly good old carpets and buy new carpets was sheer extravagance (although fifteen years old, Linda's carpets looked new).

Linda constantly refers to the poverty of her childhood and agrees with her aunts how amazing it is that her grandparents' generation managed on so little. She stresses how she had not forgotten this and has learnt herself to be prudent.

Hamish commented to me with a smile that his wife interpreted the phrase "traditional practice" very literally - she wouldn't "blaad" anything ['to blaad': to spoil]. Her attitude annoyed him sometimes.

There is an awareness among courting young women of the intended male partner's economic prospects. When Linda told me that her daughter had got herself a good man she meant a husband with high social and economic status: he is a part owner of a successful business.

Sonia chose to marry a young man who had no fisher connections and who chose to work ashore. Sonia's parents were apprehensive about their daughter's choice, and when he had a spell of unemployment they expressed worries about their economic security. He was unable to provide an income and had no job security or network of fishing neighbours, kin or family to help him find a job; and he did not want to fish.

Linda and other women in her age group justify their roles as wives by referring to traditional attitudes: this covers their work roles, their cultural attitudes, and their socio-economic strategy of investing men's wages and preserving the home environment. Linda defends her socio-economic position within the family and community by saying in effect that she "got a gweed man" and that every penny they have has been hard-worked for and well-deserved, hence they are morally-upstanding people whose wealth has been won through being morally-upstanding. Her husband backs her up by saying that if he has money it is because his wife has looked after it well.

PART B

HOUSING

Balnamara people see their village as composed of two parts, 'down the brae' and 'up the brae', which are connected by a long, hair-pin bend road.

Down the brae is the oldest part of the village. Its Main Street is regarded as the business heart of the village, although major bulk shopping is done in nearby town supermarkets. The Fishertown is regarded as what was the heart of the social community of Balnamara fisherfolk. Balnamara harbour, since the 1920's occupied by only the smallest fishing and pleasure craft, is, along with the Fishertown, the symbolic heart of the fishing community where people go to in good weather to relax and socialise.

Houses down the brae are very similar to those found in other fishing communities of the North East coast. Retired villagers remember their grandparents or parents, who built the family home in the Fishertown; thus locals still remember the Fishertown when only locals lived there.

Between the 1930's and 1960's up the brae council housing was built to ease Fishertown over-crowding problems. Young couples moved out of single rooms in their parents' houses into new council housing. The current generation of young parents were mostly all brought up in such council housing: their grandparents and often their parents however continued to live down the brae. The 1950's and 60's were prosperous times for fishermen and marked greater prosperity for all: many men became skippers or share owners, able to afford a car and a yearly holiday, although these things only became commonplace in the mid to late 1960's. Although young couples who married in the 1950's and 60's sometimes chose to move into a deceased parent's house down the brae many chose to remain in their up the brae council houses, which they became entitled to buy in the 1980's. In the mid 1990's, there are few council houses still in council ownership.

In the 1970's and '80's differences in family wealth became more obvious and extended family were less likely to part-own and

work on family boats. This coincided with greater prosperity for those with shares or ownership rights, and this in turn coincided with a differentiation in style, value and status of house types. When land plots became available in the early 1970's on farm land on the village outskirts up the brae, successful fishermen of the 1950-'70's bought land and built bungalows, like fellow (successful) fishermen along the east coast. The fact that land was available to build new, fashionable housing was very significant in encouraging couples with young or teenage children to stay in the village, and is still significant because families can buy land and build their own houses, instead of having to move elsewhere to build a house. Thus wealth is retained in the village. Today, very few young couples choose to live down the brae. Most of them have never lived in this part of the village. In the 1970's and 1980's around half of the down the brae or Fishertown houses were occupied by retired fishermen and their wives; the other half of the house total stood either unoccupied and owned by Balnamara people living up the brae; or was bought by 'strangers' from Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and, in particular, England. The number of unoccupied houses seems to have increased, as has the ratio of strangers to locals. Most strangers live down the brae.

Women are very much implicated in and part of the social change in the village. Although they do not earn the money they manage it and this is visible in physical appearances of everything from the clothes they buy for the family to the kind of house they live in.

Although on one level there is apparently intense competition between families there is also a suppression of overt snobbery, competition or showiness. Although some women think others are competitive and think themselves 'better than anyone else' these critics are primarily concerned with 'keeping up' rather than outdoing others. This intense pressure among men and women to 'keep up' seems to me to be an explanation of why North East fishing communities are so successful. They know that this is a mechanism for promoting innovation in their fishing technology, and renewal of their families and of their

communities. Some comment is necessary on how the community seems to be even more competitive within itself and how social wealth is increasingly less equally divided, but this is probably an outcome of increasing outside demand for innovation and competition.

Women continue to participate in social change and in the presentation of the family's social status. This is described below.

GRANDEUR

"Gran" can suggest affectionate teasing about an impressive appearance, or it can be a pejorative term used to describe the "graan" folk up the brae/up the road/in the bungalows ('up' is itself a term suggesting higher social status, even pomposity). In the second context, 'graan' is a derogatory term meaning ostentatious, socially competitive, inordinately proud and morally suspect.

I frequently heard local people who lived 'down the brae' refer negatively to the 'graan folk' living up the brae. Molly declared that she certainly would not like to be living among the 'graan folk' up the brae: there was too much social competition and the folk there were very proud. Such competition dated, she said, to the 1970's and early '80's. Many of them were young and willing to take on debt such as large mortgages to live in a bungalow, but 'in her day' you 'didn't get it if you couldn't afford (to pay cash for) it'.

Molly's explanation conflates two periods of economic development: those who built bungalows in the late 1970's were usually well-established skippers and their wives with young families in their teens who either had a small or no mortgage at all; and, in the late 1980's, recently married couples who had bought house sites before marrying and who had mortgages. Natalie, brought up in a council house up the brae, spent her early married life in Portmore, then came to live in Balnamara in a private house in the Fishertown. She declared "I widnae move up ere for love nor money", referring not to council housing but to the bungalows. Yet when she did build and move into a bungalow she said she had at last escaped from other villagers.

Other bungalow dwellers probably bought their bungalows for the same reason, privacy, which is interpreted as social and status difference/advantage by others.

It is difficult to fully explain what being 'prood' and 'graan' actually mean. Though living down the brae, one can still be accused of being prood. Prood is a measure of excess: caring too much about appearances and social standing and thinking oneself better than another, so much that it makes others feel socially inadequate and unequal. Accusations of proodness and grandness are a levelling mechanism which try to overrule visible status differences.

Waterson poses the interesting question of Humphrey's work of whether people are competing for social status or are being socially progressive, industrious and therefore morally upright (1990, p.168). The dichotomy to me seems a false one: people in Balnamara are doing both: both are inter-linked.

Margaret, who also lives down the brae, defended her neighbours: they weren't actually "graan folk", even though they were renovating their house. Margaret's neighbours put in oil-fired central heating and double-glazed their windows: this was only reasonable, said Margaret, making their house "comfortable". The neighbours attitude to others would be factors in assessing them as either prood or attentive to their property.

Those living in the bungalows at the top of 'up the brae' are differentiated from others in council-owned or bought council houses and in private houses. This distinction was held by locals in the Fishertown and those living in what was originally council or pre-1970's private housing, and the expressions used include "them up in i bungalows", "i graan folk in i bungalows", "them up at the tap o the brae", and so on.

Both approach roads into Balnamara are lined with bungalows. They shape one's initial perceptions of the village and visitors frequently comment on this first impression of the village as one of wealth.

Villagers are also aware of the social prestige connotations of the bungalows; yet most locals are related through work or kinship to the bungalow owners. Not all critics of the bungalow dwellers are

crew members or crewmen's families, but it appears that the majority are.

Amanda said she thought her husband's skipper Sandy's mortgage on his bungalow would be paid up, even though his skipper is less than ten years older than her husband. Amanda's husband's aunt, however, whose husband was also a crewman, and who knew the skipper and his wife more intimately, thought the skipper's mortgage wasn't paid up.

In another conversation Amanda said that the skipper and his wife would have nothing left to dream of: they had it all. They couldn't appreciate what they had as much as they ought because they didn't work hard for it, unlike the crew. They had been 'born with silver spoons in their mouths'.

Thus in Balnamara hard work seems more valued than attaining honour (and wealth) through hereditament (Pitt-Rivers, p.23 in Peristiany, 1965).

In the previous conversation Amanda said Will was leaving the boat: outside the fishing season Will and Amanda couldn't afford to pay the mortgage and buy food.

Amanda and Will said crewmen were being denied money by the skippers. Look at the skippers and their families, she said, going about in fancy cars, with big fancy houses and going on foreign holidays.

The office paid Will monthly but the precise date varied at the office's discretion. The office got the interest on Will's monthly wage. Amanda felt she couldn't 'run a house' - pay the mortgage regularly, buy food and pay household bills - if the office didn't pay her on a fixed date each month.

When Will's skipper's brother-in-law accused the skipper of deceit and misuse of boat income other crewmen privately expressed vicarious pleasure in the confrontation as they would probably have been sacked.

Will said that all big boat skippers in Balnamara (and elsewhere) denied their crews their share of 'rebate money' and hence denied money to crewmen's families.

Hamish was the "fairest" skipper in the village and when told of this reputation said "Well, I like ti gie the crew their share o't".

It is interesting that he uses the word "share" - most of the crew do not have boat shares, but they do expect an equal portion of the boat's income from the fish catches.

It is this principle of visible, material equality which is under discussion in the village. It is related to questions of honesty, honour, trust and responsibility, and it is also related to ideas about social competition, economic opportunity and, ultimately, fishing community survival. Although Sandy, a skipper, says a crew should regard the boat and crew as a family of brothers he does not share the earnings equally, as a brother should.

John, a prawn boat skipper, whose two sons and cousin crewed his boat, showed me several examples of his boat's 'square-up sheet'. His wife first urged him to do so, keeping up a tirade of criticism of the bungalow skippers, saying they would never show their crews their square-up sheets: this was because they were not treating their crewmen equally.

I did not hear of any other crew member in Balnamara who had seen or been shown a square-up sheet.

The criticism John and his wife were making was that those in the bungalows were treating themselves and their families better than the crew by adding private expenditure bills to boat running costs.

Two skippers said they shared all rebates because their crewmen were their relatives. Most crews on purse and white fish boats are, at most, distantly related (second or third cousins at the nearest); nor do most crewmen tend to have boat shares. Thus it is increasing unlikely that there are kin ties between share owners and crew: this is inferred to have resulted in the reduction of the crewmen's wages to only fish catch profits.

Thus 1970's bungalows, grouped together on the perimeter of the village instead of scattered throughout the town, appear to represent, in many crewmen's eyes, a time of unequal wealth and obvious social division.

It is perhaps also significant that many skippers moved out of their parents' houses, which symbolised family struggle, poverty, tradition, family and therefore crew responsibilities, to new houses; and they perhaps evolved new attitudes towards their

family, their crewmen and towards the fishing community as a whole.

The wealth associated with skippers earns them prestige and honour; but this honour is privately challenged by others who contrast religious piety and associated moral uprightness with the skippers' dishonesty and hierarchical attitudes and behaviour. Campbell states (1974, p.268) that honour is "a condition of integrity". Many Balnamara crewmen imply that skippers have lost this integrity.

Most of the skippers are elders in the Church or are Brothers in the Brethren. Their Christian values are doubted by critics of the bungalow owners, who doubt skippers' honesty and fairness to others. Natalie said she didn't want to move from the Fishertown up the brae because the wealthy people up the brae weren't true Christians - all they cared about was money.

A retired skipper who is a lay preacher and a church elder explained to me that

"it wisnae poverty thit made the folk [of Balnamara] but the Reformation and John Knox". He then added that Balnamara folk were renowned for their honesty. Honesty is a religious virtue which should be a quality possessed by all Balnamara men and women.

Comments on the religious beliefs and social behaviour of Balnamara people are, in fact, a critique of the social structure of the village. Criticism of housing is a metaphor for this.

The intensification of financial capital required to buy a boat or boat shares since the 1970's has resulted in financial power and therefore social prestige resting with certain families.

HOUSING, SOCIAL STATUS, MEN AND WOMEN

Fishermen see a connection between house and boat ownership, economic success and social prestige. Natalie told me that her husband was deliberating over whether to buy a house or a boat. Eventually he chose to build a house, with a view to buying a boat in the near future.

Natalie's husband was responsible for mooted the idea of 'biggin a hoose', but after several months of bad relations with her

neighbours Natalie grew keen on the idea of 'biggin a hoose' on the village outskirts. However, it was Willy who bought the site and arranged to have house plans drawn up. Natalie was involved in planning the interior of the house and in its decoration, but Willy dealt with workmen and building contracts and helped build the house.

However, as the moving-in date drew near, Natalie said to her closest friends that she dreaded the move, not only because of the physical upheaval, but because the bungalow was built on the edge of the other housing estates and she would feel isolated. Her husband, seldom at home, would not experience the same isolation.

Brigid said that it was her husband who had wanted to build a house and move out of their council house; indeed he was constantly telling her to spend money on things she wanted because they could afford it.

Elinor, newly ensconced in a 1970's bungalow, said her husband had already said he would like to move to the new 1990's bungalow estate. Several house plots were available. Elinor, however, said she preferred her present house. Natalie and Anna, both of whom still lived in Fishertown houses, agreed that the new bungalows were prone to damp. They also inferred that there was even greater social competition there than anywhere else in the village. This derives from the fact that to 'bigg a hoose' brings high social status. Elinor emphasised that both she and her husband preferred to buy the older style of bungalow to building a new bungalow.

Natalie's husband wanted to build his own bungalow so I asked Natalie "Dis is gie ye a taste for bidin up the brae?" and she replied, "Oh, I'na ken!" She didn't look at all enthusiastic, even though she had praised Elinor's house during a guided tour. Elinor also seemed to be at pains to indicate that she wasn't any more 'graan' as a bungalow occupier and inferred that she was no better than anyone else in the company.

In saying "Paul [her husband] wid easy move again, bit I'm quite content, I'm nae needin ti shift" Elinor seems less concerned about social status than her husband. In a later conversation

Elinor mentioned how she had lost so much weight due to the stress of moving house that she had to take a nutrition supplement. Natalie also lost weight and colour and seemed highly agitated each time she had to move house.

Although Elinor says "we jist waited till a hoose came up ..", as if the decision to move was a joint one, it may be that it is the men who instigate the move to better accommodation, which has higher social prestige. Men might view house prestige value as being reflective of their success as fishermen, and that both boat shares or a good wage packet and a desirable property are essentially linked and are socially important. Women also seemed concerned with the display of financial success and social prestige, particularly in relation to the decoration of the home, but many seemed reluctant to move simply for the sake of achieving higher social prestige. Women may become more attached to a certain residence because she lives there daily and because she has to see to all the practical removal arrangements.

WN: She [his wife] didnae wint ti come back ti
Balnamara ti start wi, she wis settled in fine in
Portmore. Bit Natalie's the kine she disnae .. really
like change, ee see (TR.122, WN).

Similarly, although going on holiday is a mark of wealth and gives one social prestige, women often express dubiety about leaving home, just as they do about moving house. Helen remembered being miserable during her holiday, but her husband told her not to tell anyone that she hadn't enjoyed herself. Others should look on in envy.

Anna, whenever the prospect of a foreign holiday surfaced, always admitted to feeling reluctant to leave home: she grew homesick, even on a two-week holiday.

Similarly, Linda seemed pleased when her daughter left to go to college but was "affa hameseeck"; yet she never commented on her son leaving to go to sea.

Women are expected to be more "hame-drauchtit" or "affa hameseeck" because they are primarily associated with the house

and the village, but men are expected to travel. Homesickness suggests commitment to one's family and community (see HAME-TIED).

FEMALE OWNERSHIP

Some fishing families choose to put the home under the female's name so that if the boat or husband should become bankrupt the family do not loose the house.

In Musselburgh in the early 1900's some women owned several houses, which may have been due to the fact that Musselburgh women had easy access to Edinburgh to sell fish and that they kept their wages a secret from their husbands (Peggy Livingstone, *Time Quines*). In Balnamara, however, women's fish markets were much more scattered, and there is no evidence to suggest that women kept their income a secret or that they did not add it to the household income. Indeed Balnamara people said that often a woman's wage was the only wage coming into the household.

In Balnamara it appears that women only owned a property if they were an only child, if widowed. Now, young married couples claim joint ownership. When I asked Anna who owned their home she said "I hoose is in baith wir names, an aathin wis jynt" (TR.4, AW).

Joint ownership of the house is an example, Anna suggests, of equality in their marriage. She goes on to say that the only account made in his name when they married has since been changed to a joint account.

Young couples stress the 'joint' financial aspect of their lives together more than do older couples, perhaps suggesting that women see themselves as more equal partners than do older women.

HAME-TIED

Old people living in the Fishertown express a strong sense of attachment to their homes. Their homes are symbols of their independence. Ellen, in her eighties, said "As lang's ye're able,

ye're better ti bide in yer ain hoose" and "ye're aye tied ti yer ain hairth, nae maitter faar ye gang".

For old people their Fishertown homes are symbols also of their personal and family histories. Their Fishertown houses are probably where they were born or married into, where they grew up with siblings or brought up their own children, and where they spent their married lives. Several generations of the one family may have lived there, each generation living with the previous and later generations.

As Ellen's peers grew infirm or socially isolated they moved to sheltered housing up the brae, near the bungalows. Ellen resisted doing likewise, despite pressure from her daughters, sister, nieces and nephews. When Ellen's sister moved into sheltered housing Ellen was unusually vituperous: her sister was moving into a "prison". Later Ellen hoped to move into sheltered housing but she refused to sell her Fishertown house because she felt it was a holiday home for her absent daughters and grandchildren.

An important reason for many old people finally deciding to move to the local sheltered housing complex is that they will be nearer their children who live up the brae; their children also view this as an advantage. A second advantage of local sheltered housing is that old people recreate the proximity of living and frequency of contact they knew in the Fishertown.

Few villagers move more than twice once they marry and buy a home. Women's attachment to their homes, irrespective of how many generations have lived there, is widely acknowledged.

Many women talk about being 'hame-tied' or 'hameseek', or will say "I jist like at ma ain fireside", to express their attachment to their homes. Being 'hame-tied' is to be 'settled' or to indicate social stability and the importance of the family; this contrasts with the work-related geographic mobility of husbands (but who are, nevertheless, also home-focused).

Tina encouraged me to invest money and buy a house: everyone needed to have their own home, she said.

It is assumed that having a home makes you more 'settled'.

People also express pride not only in their houses and in the areas they live in, but of their situation generally and of the

village. Although Anna was chary of boasting, she occasionally commented on the spectacular seaward view from her living room window. She and her local neighbours agreed that they lived in a spectacular location and that they wouldn't get such a good view if they lived up the brae. Their comments challenged the general view that to live up the brae in a bungalow was more desirable than living down the brae in a Fishertown house.

PRIDE IN THE HOME

Although there is a status hierarchy associated with types of houses most people in Balnamara, in particular women, express pride in their homes by decorating and constantly renewing the external and internal fabric of their homes. Women thus demonstrate a "deep aesthetic involvement in the domestic environment" (Hunt, 1989, p.75).

Linda bought a small aerial photograph of her bungalow, which showed little except the house roof and the front and back gardens. It cost £75 in 1991 but she did not object to the cost. Linda told her aunt Ellen that she wanted the picture for the day she went into a nursing home. She was very proud of the photo. Her aunt admired it and congratulated her that "Ye couldnae hae better thin at".

Linda was disappointed that the photograph was taken before her garden flowers were in bloom; she wondered if her cousin could paint on flowers so that she would have a perfect picture of her home.

Linda treated the photograph as she would any other part of her home: she decorated it to as near perfection as she could.

Women update their homes just as men update their fishing technology and knowledge to secure their status and futures.

Whatever the house type, occupants are most attentive to repair, redecoration and improvement. Older generations were very attentive to mending things that broke or looked less than new, whereas the younger generations, many with young families, not only mended and maintained appearances but also replaced old things regularly, sometimes inviting criticism of unnecessary expenditure or false pride by older people.

A person should keep things in good repair: this indicates both moral and social responsibility and economic independence and pride. Women in particular are responsible for keeping things up to date. Jane, a spinster, was furious when her brother-in-law and his wife asked the electrician to check Jane's water tank. She argued that she had always maintained her property, was never too greedy to spend money on its maintenance, and had never needed to borrow from relatives to pay maintenance bills. Jane felt it was insinuated that a spinster was less responsible and less able to care for a house because she wasn't married.

Tina, who was unmarried, bought her own tool-kit, saying she didn't need a man to do household repair jobs for her. Tina's behaviour was atypical for a female and embarrassed her mother.

Men are generally expected to take responsibility for major house improvements, especially external or structural change. Large jobs which require much work or professional skills are generally contracted to workmen: Paul pointed out that he spent less than forty-eight hours at home in a week. This was why he and his wife employed workmen to carry out all repairs and improvements (TR.190, PA).

Anna preferred Tam to do outside jobs: otherwise, she complained he was 'in ma road' or 'ablow ma feet', and she would wish he were back at work.

Women also regard maintenance of external facilities such as house sheds and their contents as ultimately the responsibility of men. Traditionally and currently this is where fishing and other non-house equipment is kept.

Other women in Balnamara express similar sentiments, showing that they promote the clear division of gender roles in relation to many household jobs.

Local people like to support the local painter and joiner (as well as local shops): they have an excellent reputation for workmanship, particularity and cleanliness, as do the women they work for. Barbara was delighted that a particular tradesman was as "parteeclar" as herself: he was very clean and held high standards of workmanship.

Women, likewise, expect their husbands to be 'parteeclar' in performing D.I.Y tasks and will comment if they think the job should be done better. Hamish refused to hang pictures for his wife because he thought she was "ower fussy".

Women are thus strongly influential in setting standards of house maintenance. Men themselves show this same particularity - for example in setting standards of hygiene aboard boats and in working as hard as they can. Some widowed men in the sheltered housing complex are very house proud; others are aided by female relatives.

HOUSE EXTERIORS

Home furnishings are constantly being renewed and thus 'improved'. The emphasis on renewal and beauty reflects: women's efforts to provide as comfortable a home as she can, her idea of an 'ideal home', which also reflects the family's moral and social status in the community; and her ability as a housewife to maintain the family's reputation.

Pride in and attention to house decoration are sentiments shared by council house tenants as well as those in privately owned housing. Since the 'Tenants' Rights Etc. (Scotland)' Bill was implemented in 1980, giving council tenants the statutory right to buy the properties they live in, a large number in Balnamara have chosen to do so. 58% of the 1980 council house stock has since been sold to private owners (verbal communication, Ab'shire Council, 27th August 1996). This compares with a national figure for council house sales of 29.6% and for the old local authority area of 36.7% (Scottish Office, 1996). I suggest that the figure for Balnamara reflects a local cultural emphasis on private ownership, and it also reflects the relative wealth of the community, not only in relation to the surrounding local authority area but to the rest of Scotland.

Many people seem to mark the transition to private ownership by making major internal and external house alternations, such as resurfacing exterior walls and adding extensions.

Immediate changes include replacing windows and doors with expensive double-glazing and draught-proof doors. Dark wood

and smoked glass are particularly popular, giving an impression of luxury. Plain, inexpensive council doors are replaced by expensive, heavy, dark-stained, glass-paned doors: for example Stella's fisherman son bought his mother (in 1989) a very expensive £800 new front door to replace the previous council door.

Several new council home owners have also built on porches where they display plants and ornaments, creating a transitional area between the outside world and the interior of the house. To have particularly a porch is considered rather a luxury.

A house's appearance is thought to be related to its occupants' prosperity. By taking care of the house's appearance one demonstrates economic power.

Gardens are also part of aesthetic and social awareness. Unlike houses down the brae, up the brae houses all have gardens.

Council houses usually have a garden at the front and rear of the house. The front garden, open to the public street, is usually ornamental, consisting of stone slabs and manicured flower tubs, or of grass with flower borders and beds. The rear garden is usually functional with a clothes line and a garden shed, the role division demonstrating the attention to public show and pride, and private utility.

Garden sheds store garden or other heavy mechanical equipment, and even a cooker, deep freeze and inside washing line. Women use the shed to cook 'smelly' foods such as cabbage, soup or fish, and to cope with a lack of food storage space.

It is usually women who maintain the garden as husbands are so little at home. Occasionally, at weekends, men can be seen mowing the grass, but women usually can be seen in the afternoons mowing the grass, weeding and planting flowers.

Lawns are kept extremely neat and tidy, as if they were household surfaces subject to cleanliness rules: Linda said she had to cut the grass every week or it would be too long. To me, her lawn, like most lawns in Balnamara, looked like a croquet lawn.

My lawn was a continuation of a strip of grass divided between five council tenants. My neighbour laughed and joked about how

uncomfortable we both felt when our grasses were of different lengths. Amanda often commented on her neighbour's short grass, saying it made her longer grass look untidy, demonstrating that women try to maintain standards rather than to compete, recognising the common goal of maintaining appearances and social and moral responsibilities (Campbell, 1974, p.264).

Mothers sometimes help their daughters to garden, just as they occasionally help with housework. Amanda's mother would lend her own gardening equipment as she would help and lend her household equipment.

Women maintain house exterior appearances and 'femininity' is expressed through control of patterns, colours and styles, and through concepts of tidiness.

Lawn edges are neatly clipped. All plants are well-manicured and planted to produce an ordered, carefully-tended appearance.

Colours, shapes and plant height are considered and arranged to give symmetry and harmony. Linda was puzzled as to why one flower bed running up one side of the garden steps produced smaller plants than the other corresponding flower bed: it spoiled her intended symmetrical arrangement. Women follow the same 'rules' of symmetry, shape and colour when decorating the garden as the home interior.

Garden gates have taken on a particularly decorative quality in recent years. Standard council gates which mark the boundary of the pedestrian pavement with the approach to a house have been replaced by metal gates with elaborate patterns, a surname initial, or by a 'picture' gate made by a blacksmith. Picture gates have included a thistle, a seagull and boat scenes, reflecting features of the local environment and the livelihood of the occupants.

Until recently, the appearances of most things, such as garden gates and gardens, have been very uniform; but recently there has been some diversification in appearance, as if people are asserting the right of the house occupants to be different from one another.

This trend is also reflected in house furnishings (see HOUSE INTERIORS), but differences are never dramatic and a new style

of object is usually chosen on the grounds not only that the owner likes it but that it will earn admiration from others in the community.

This tension between uniformity and individuality is also reflected in the style of bungalows being built. Lorraine and Frank planned to upstage all new bungalows and import a bungalow kit from Norway. The walls were to be made of wood. Lorraine said proudly, when I praised the catalogue picture, that the house would be "jist a wee bittie different".

Hilary asserted that her new bungalow was not a kit house. She had designed it herself, with an architect's help.

No-one seems to choose styles of anything which are radically different to current local styles.

Although new houses are always bungalows, designs vary. There is variation in the shape, size and location of windows. Roof shapes are varied, as are road and path approaches. Garden walls, largely absent round Fishertown houses and which were previously shared between several council house tenants, are a strong feature of new bungalows and of newly-bought council houses. However there is still a discernible pattern of shape, style, colour, arrangement and so on visible in house exteriors and interiors.

Most bungalows are fronted by large sweeps of well-manicured grass, and some feature tall, exotic strands of pampas grass, this giving the house an exotic, 'wealthy' look. Virtually none of the bungalows have vegetable gardens, unlike other types of housing. Cleanliness standards are applied to house exteriors as well as interiors. Windows are washed regularly, especially after wind or rain has thrown up dirt. Linda insisted on washing her windows at 9 p.m. one evening: although it was dark she couldn't bear the thought of having dirty windows. No-one could see her rear windows apart from family inside.

Clean windows suggest a clean house interior, and reflect on the moral character of the wife and family.

HOUSE INTERIORS

In the following paragraphs I illustrate how room interiors are furnished, showing how patterns, styles, and colour schemes are carefully ordered and managed by women, and how their cleanliness standards also reflect managerial control and social awareness.

Gender is an organising theme in Balnamara households (Waterson, 1993, p.168). Women have almost complete control over house decoration and therefore interiors, more so than exteriors, are very 'feminine-looking'.

Although individual taste is expressed in particular choices and arrangements of furniture, fabrics and decorations, there are recognisable patterns both internally in the house, and externally with similar patterns of decoration in other households. These patterns, where there is a carefully planned colour and fabric scheme and a symmetrical arrangement of matching items, Hess calls an "established set of aesthetic practices and values" (Waterson quoting Hess, 1981, pp.30-33).

In the descriptions below I show how women control the internal environment of the home through the manifestation of femininity. I also show through description how women establish the conformity of the individual household to social expectations. People are highly conscious not only of how the external fabric of the house looks, but also of how much of the interior can be seen from the outside. Windows are dressed very carefully to suggest picturesque, well-cared for, clean interior's. Most windows until the mid 1990's had both curtains and older-style venetian or modern slat blinds. Blinds allow the household more privacy, as well as being very useful in the summer for shielding the house interior from sunlight, which fades colours. Women are very diligent about preserving their furniture and furnishings, from bleaching sunlight for example. They are extremely house-proud as it is a symbol of their care for their homes and of their moral responsibility.

The position of blinds is important: certain patterns are favoured, such as lowering blinds in the daytime to cover about one third of the window glass, or having slat blinds turned side-on so that

light is not excluded. Curtains are usually placed to be visible, (to demonstrate the femininity of the household, to hang symmetrically and to form a symmetrical pattern with the blinds. The style and decoration of curtains is also very important. Curtain patterns face into the rooms, matching the colour and broader decoration patterns in the rooms, but many are lined with thick, often luxurious-looking materials. Most houses have a pelmet - a fringe of curtain material across the top of the window - which both disguises the curtain rail and adds an extra, frilly, 'feminine' decoration to the external appearance of windows. New curtain fashion trends favour luxurious-looking, soft (feminine) materials with new designs, as seen on TV and in magazines. Curtains which can be tied back with strips of material or tassels, and gold hooks and rings, are popular. Many of the curtains have frilly edges, increasing the impression of femininity, comfort and wealth.

Also fashionable are 'drop' curtains, a roll of curtain-contrasting material which, when rolled up, shows a scalloped or frilly bottom edge and rolls of bundled up silky material. When 'dropped' these drops act as blinds, and curtain tie-backs do not need to be undone, rendering curtains redundant but decorative. Curtains are, therefore, sometimes less functional than in the past, although venetian blinds also make curtains semi-redundant. The new styles of curtain increasingly reflect fashion, luxury, beauty and femininity.

Some local women have recently gone to sewing classes to learn how to make such window dressings. Natalie has made curtains for all the rooms of her new bungalow and her skills are much admired by other women.

The social importance of window dressing is borne out by the fact that in a nearby fishing town there are several shops offering a curtain designing and fitting service.

All windows have a centre-piece ornament which is placed in the exact middle of the window sill and around which curtains and blinds hang symmetrically. Ornaments are placed on lacy, often hand-made doilies. Window ornaments include china figures,

ornate glass or crystal vases, or bouquets of, usually, dried flowers.

Many of these ornaments are wedding gifts, demonstrating the attempt by family, friends and the entire community virtually to help the couple establish equal social status with others.

Many of the china figurines are made of very expensive china.

The Doulton brand is especially favoured. Local people regard china as a mark of social status and prestige. However a person can be criticised or ridiculed for making a public show of having too many Doulton china figurines, but such criticism is usually made when a person is appraised on other grounds as 'prood'.

Virtually every household has at least one Doulton figurine - they are, invariably, representations of women in variously coloured, patterned long dresses with white, frilly petticoats. They increase the feminine impression of the house decoration and the appearance of wealth.

Balnamara figurines look out onto the street, rather than into the house. From this (stereotype) some people conclude that Balnamara people are 'prood' - they supposedly like to 'flash wealth' to impress others. However, Balnamara women only ever commented that the figurines were 'beautiful', representing femininity and idealised images of womanhood. Thus the social meanings attached to the ownership and display of these figurines are interpreted differently by different communities (Pitt-Rivers, p.22 in Peristiany, 1965).

Windows are microcosms of the physical interior of the house. The same care, attention and pride invested in decorating a window is shown in how a room is furnished.

Women's control of the environment is reflected in their careful allocation of space and setting to each furnishing object.

Ornaments are spaced apart from each other on doilies, giving the ornament a 'setting' and also protecting the surface it sits on. The careful placing of furnishings gives the room a distinct pattern of shapes, colour, style and a recognisable function.

Settees and chairs are arranged usually so that they dominate the room and so that they focus on the fireplace, a symbol of life and sociability.

Everything appears to have a 'proper place', giving an image of control, order and therefore aesthetic beauty.

To have "aa yer orders" is to have all the objects deemed necessary to furnish a room. The phrase suggests that a woman has expectations, perhaps rights, to certain kinds of furnishings. Also, when things are "in order" a woman has achieved some form of rational patterning. Houses reflect a sense of organisation and perfection through such patterning of complementary styles of decoration.

The china ornaments, crystal, glass vases and bowls found in windows are also plentiful in the living room, reinforcing an appearance of beauty, femininity, order and wealth.

Mantelpieces are often decorated with china ornaments such as Doultons. The mantelpiece and fireplace are usually the focus of the room, so by placing china such as expensive Doulton-ware on the mantelpiece a housewife creates a sense of aesthetic beauty. Women favour ornate fireplace surroundings which have shelves to display favourite ornaments.

Many women also have a china display cabinet in the living room for favourite ornaments. Many of these ornaments are wedding presents of glass, crystal or china. Part of the wedding-gift, the 'fancy tae-set', may be displayed and will be brought into use on special occasions. A coffee table is also an important asset, being both of practical use and a display surface for other crystal, glass or china objects.

Crystal is usually given as an expensive wedding present and is popular among all generations: one young couple received five crystal vases and bowls as wedding gifts in 1991. Crystal is valued principally for its decorative aspect and for the social prestige of owning crystal.

China appears in the form of cups or vases, and, more often, of figurines such as idealised, romantic figurines of boys and girls and animals (interestingly live animals are relatively uncommon, partly because of the hygiene problems associated with them). Figurines, whether of animals or humans, are generally romantic idealisations and emotive scenes. Often the same imagery is reflected in pictures hung on the walls.

Photographs are extremely common and they generally occupy the most important wall positions. The photographs are usually of professional quality and are of the householders' wedding, or of their children's weddings, or of the grandchildren who are page boys or bridesmaids at others' weddings. Studio portraits of children are also very common. Most photographs are quite formal, posed portraits where people wear their best clothes. Very few ever contain any reference to daily routines of work and leisure. Photographs are highly symbolic of how the community wishes to present an image of decency, respect and social prestige to the outside world; this is also reflected generally in physical appearances of houses, clothes and cars, and in ideas about roles, and the nature of the family and of the community.

The social importance placed upon children is apparent in the number of photographs, as is the social importance of marriage in forming new alliances.

Gilt, or gold-coloured frames are very popular, defining and adding importance to the photograph. Recently, very large, ornate reproduction frames such as Victorian-style frames used to frame oil paintings, have become increasingly popular, increasing the impressiveness of the photograph. Some photographs are printed onto canvas-like paper, as if the photograph were an oil-painting: this increases the gravity and heightens the importance of the scene. Stella had two large photographs on either side of her fireplace: one each of her children taken on their wedding days. Stella pointed out to me that she treated both of her married children equally: the photographs were displayed on equally important wall spaces, in similar, ornate frames of the same size.

Stella was conscious of trying not to favour either child by hanging the photographs in equally important wall positions. Stella has three children. The eldest son is unmarried. His photograph doesn't appear on any of the house walls or display surfaces. When he was a child his picture would have been frequently displayed. His has been replaced by photographs of his wedded siblings and their young children.

In other households I seldom saw pictures of unmarried adult children displayed, unless they were part of a larger family group photograph or were part of a larger, symbolic event such as a boat launch or bridal party. Occasionally however, photographs of unmarried children in university graduation clothes are displayed.

Such photographs also display the householders' family and social connections. Women thus play an important role not only in reflecting family values but also in keeping family relationships going (see chapter **WOMEN AND FAMILY NETWORKS**).

Linda and Hamish support missionary work by making financial donations. In return they receive small photographs which Linda displays in shelves in the ornate electric fire surround. The religious import of the photographs but would have meaning for those accustomed to church life in Balnamara and in nearby fishing communities. This demonstrates how women represent the religious life of the family in symbols to visitors.

Paintings or photographs of boats are common, especially if the husband is a boat owner; both men and women refer to the pictures with modesty and pleasure.

Holiday souvenirs are a favourite way to decorate a house: they demonstrate knowledge of other places, pleasurable experiences, social wealth and, when given by relatives and friends, are a mark of affection and of family relationships.

Linda loved ornamental holiday souvenirs. Two things were important to her: where the souvenir came from, and who had given it to her. Many souvenirs were from foreign trips she had made with her husband to places as varied as Devon and Israel. Linda also received so many souvenirs from her son and daughter, grandchildren and sisters that she remarked "Ken is, ye run oot o places for things". Linda generally displayed a gift for some time, then stored it away.

Small souvenir presents are commonly found in the kitchen and are frequently changed. Ornaments in the living room, by contrast, are virtually permanently on display and are generally much more expensive, such as china dolls, crystal and porcelain.

While younger couples display mostly wedding present ornaments in the living room older couples can have a larger proportion of expensive holiday souvenirs. Above her TV cabinet Linda placed a very expensive Austrian lamp which incorporated two large china figures. A corner table was ordered while they were abroad on holiday, then imported: the table segments each played a different tune, but the 'table' was never used.

Most of the ornaments, said Linda, Hamish bought for her.

Mostly he was responding to her likes and dislikes. Linda saw this as a mark of his affection for her, in the same way that he always buys her an expensive piece of jewellery for Christmas (her son also buys her jewellery, and her daughter buys her perfume, all luxury items). Gifts in the form of luxury household furnishings may be seen as giving a personal gift to a woman. Floor and wall coverings are chosen carefully. Older, retired women in their eighties recall how they swept, scrubbed and polished linoleum after a week's work mending nets, prior to their husbands coming home. Women now care as diligently for carpets as they did for linoleum.

Carpets in the living room became common-place in the 1950's. Wall-to-wall carpeting throughout the home is now the general rule. Most people choose carpets which have patterns of Indian origin - they are usually highly decorated, featuring lots of 'swirls' and abstract designs. Usually there is a main colour predominating which will be 'picked up' in curtain colours and in general furnishing colours.

I was told that, in Buckie, wealthy skippers had an image of their boat woven into their living room carpets; this example was quoted as a jibe at being over house-proud and socially competitive.

Carpets, especially in the living room, are chosen for their colours and patterns, but also for their reputation for quality, durability and 'name' prestige - Axminster is an example of a good carpet. A quality carpet is known as a "gweed" carpet ('gweed': good, new, beautiful, clean, used on special occasions, to be treated with care, a treat to oneself).

Fiona, carpeting her new bungalow, told us how she had asked the best carpet fitter at a nearby quality furniture store to come and lay her carpets: she wanted us to know that she liked to have the best workmanship and furnishings. This is a common preference in Balnamara. High quality goods and workmanship earn respect.

Recently, young couples in particular have chosen more 'self-coloured' carpets, featuring one main colour with, perhaps, a small motif. This also echoes a national trend in domestic carpeting.

What is remarkable, though, is that certain designs are appearing in large concentrations. Women admire new things and emulate others by buying the same pattern, if in a different colour. There is an element of standardisation in the carpet designs appearing in the village, in the same way that there is a level of standardisation in most aspects of house exterior and interior furnishing.

Suites are another example of standardisation: certain makers and designs are popular. Again quality is a key factor: makers with a reputation for good design, durability, expense and prestige are favoured, such as Bridgecraft.

Carpets and suites should be comfortable and, preferably, luxurious, with soft, deep pile and rich colours. Women advise each other on the merits of design, colour and cleaning practicality: when Linda was buying a new suite her niece advised her against choosing a light colour - though fashionable it was not easily kept clean.

Hard fabrics such as leather are popular. Leather is recognised as expensive and also as easily cleaned.

Similarly, few choose light-coloured carpets as they are difficult to keep looking immaculately clean. Darker colours with hard-wearing properties are chosen for kitchen and hall areas as they are used most frequently. Women tend to vacuum carpets once or twice daily.

Wallpaper is also important: women generally repaper walls when a room changes use or when they move house. This marking of habitation has a long history: herring gutters in the 1920's,

though impoverished, would wallpaper their summer hut lodgings in Shetland.

Wallpaper colours should match other furnishing colours in the room. Colours are generally light to amplify light sources. In the past better quality papers have been used in the living rooms while cheaper wallpapers are used in the kitchens. Now, perhaps because living standards are higher and kitchens contain so much expensive equipment, kitchen wallpaper is as important in terms of 'look' and expense as living room papers.

High quality paper and workmanship are *de rigueur* so that walls do not need repapering often. Also, women worry about damaging furniture and so people like Linda move out all furniture in the room or go to great lengths to protect it; hence their unwillingness to repaper too often.

Women choose the wallpaper designs so that wallpapers are all 'feminine' in colour and design. Cream or light backgrounds with flower or leaf motifs are the most popular. Satin-finish papers are also popular, especially as they are now back in national fashion. Women, not men, choose new furnishings. However, when the item is expensive or requires major work women often consult their husbands for their assent. Most women choose the designs they themselves like, and they will consult other close female kin or friends for their opinions. On asking her husband for his opinion he replied "It's jist fit ee like yersel, Linda". He later refused to hang his wife's decoration plates on the grounds that she is too fussy. Linda's son Frank also refused to give his opinion, saying "Ee neednae buther askin me becis ee'll tak i thing ee like i best yersel".

This comment indicates that women have the 'final word' on what to buy.

Regarding female power in large purchase decisions Nancy said:

NS: .. If we could afford it he wid say "Ay". Bit if we couldnae afford it then I widnae think o buyin, pittin it forward in the first place (TR.75, NS).

Nancy was at pains to emphasise the joint nature of budgeting and expenditure decisions between her and her husband, as were other young women. Nancy wanted her home to be "a joint home .. a joint effort". Decisions required from each of them "jist a bit o come an go" (TR.75, NS).

The following quote, however, may cast doubt on how much active say her husband has in the decisions: here, he appears to 'rubber stamp' her suggestion:

NS: .. I wid tik hame the book an say, 'that's the choice o material, fit een div you think is best?' I'd let him look an then I wid look an say, "Look, at's i design I want. Fit di you like?" An he wid say, "Oh, at's OK". At's it! (laughs) (TR.76, NS).

Women agree that the kitchen is the most expensive room to furnish, for it contains many large pieces of electrical equipment, such as a cooker, washing machine, perhaps a tumble-dryer, dishwasher and a microwave. Integrated kitchen units have become extremely popular since the 1980's: cupboards, cooker, dishwasher and so on come as a designed, integrated package from local shops. The bungalows of Dun Drive, most of which were build in the 1980's, were among the first houses to get such integrated kitchen equipment. Most private home owners have 'put in a new kitchen' over the past ten years. Wood or wood-effect units have been particularly popular, and wallpapering has been replaced round the cooking area with tiles, these often having a rustic, 'country kitchen' design which is popular nationally.

New design kitchen units usually have an ornate glass cabinet section for displaying good china, and several display shelves for ornaments. Living room decoration appears to be creeping into kitchen areas so that kitchens seem less like work rooms than leisure, show-case rooms.

Work surfaces are kept uncluttered apart from electrical equipment such as a kettle or microwave, and small holiday souvenirs or ornaments. Food is kept well hidden to preserve the

'show-piece' look, as if the kitchen were perfectly clean and ordered. However children's drawings or home-made toys are often displayed round the units or on the walls to emphasise their importance.

Many women have had new lighting systems installed which can be part of the kitchen package deal. These lights often provide flattering lighting, illuminating work surfaces and design features portrayed in fashion advertising. Because new units will invariably be of a different shape and size a new carpet is usually laid once the units are installed.

Linda's old units were seventeen years old, marking the age of her bungalow. The work top and sink units were virtually unmarked and she expressed much reluctance to part with her old units. When a young couple outside the village offered to buy them Linda was delighted that someone else was getting the 'gweed' of the units. She disliked unnecessary waste and expense. Linda's sister had recently renovated her kitchen. Her other close female relatives - her daughter and niece - all had integrated kitchen units which were at least ten years newer and more fashionable than Linda's. Because her son was getting married and Linda would have to host relatives and villagers she replaced not only her kitchen units but also the kitchen wallpaper, paint and carpet.

Linda consulted for a long time with her closest female kin and friends on whether to buy new kitchen units, and which design they thought 'bonniest'. She repeatedly cautioned us that perhaps she wouldn't bother at all: her old units were 'like new'. Linda behaved in the same way when choosing new living room curtains, a settee and a carpet: she warned that she liked 'i gweed o ma stuff'. Her initial survey of local shops was done unobtrusively.

Linda commented that the only time she ever saw her sister-in-law was when she got some new household item. It is true that women are very interested in seeing others' improvements and in comparing their own furnishings with those of other women. Linda seemed to feel guilty about replacing things. Her upbringing, she said, had taught her not to spend money on what

was not needed; but the present day required her to keep up with fashion. Linda seemed particularly conservative and faithful to the 'saving/preserving' philosophy of her parents' generation. Other women Linda's age seemed more willing to keep up with fashion.

Six months elapsed before Linda began to use her new cooker. One kitchen installer said that some Balnamara women fail to take the plastic off their new cookers for a year.

Even though Linda has begun to use her new cooker she uses it largely to heat up food, or to make food which has little smell. Her new cooker has a cooker hood and expelair to take away cooking smells but I have never seen her use it. Like many women in the bungalows, she has kept her old cooker and put it in the garage. Here she will cook 'smelly' food such as fish and cabbage.

It is very important that kitchens should be kept clean and therefore as odour-free as possible. While cooking, women keep kitchen doors shut so that food smells do not penetrate every other room in the house. Every effort is made to preserve the image of control, cleanliness, order and beauty in the kitchen, as in other rooms.

Linda also has a utility room with fitted units: here she washes and hangs up clothes so as not to cause clutter in the kitchen. This is another example of the removal of work from the kitchen area to make it seem more beautiful and controlled rather than work-like.

During an early visit to a house I was at first encouraged to use the 'guest' bathroom. I noticed that after I had showered water droplets on surfaces were wiped off and the room was restored to perfect order and cleanliness.

The housewife had carefully chosen room decorations whose colours and patterns matched. The extent of her planning became clear one day when I used one of the bathroom towels: she asked me not to use them because they were given as a present and they matched her green bathroom suite perfectly. A fisherman's daughter in a neighbouring village said she thought that Balnamara people were "affa clean" but added that

her mother was exactly the same: she had two living rooms and two bathrooms. If friends came to visit both mother and daughter found it hard not to tell them not to use certain towels and soaps. The daughter buys pretty soaps and gets irritated when family members use them : she wants to keep them "for show". The daughter laughed at these standards but said she thought everyone should be particular about tidying up: everyone can be neat "if they get off their backsides and clean up after themselves". Thus untidiness, whether perpetrated by men or women, represents laziness.

ROOM LAYOUT

Room layout, in relation to the main approach to the house, also reflects this awareness of the public image of the home. The higher-status living room and master bedroom usually face onto the street or approach path, while the kitchen, bathroom and other bedrooms face onto the 'back'. This is true of virtually every house, old or modern, with the notable exception of several newer bungalows, where the main living rooms are at the back of the house, capitalising on a panoramic view of the sea.

Most Fishertown cottages have only one door but council and private houses 'up the brae' have two, creating a split between the public and the private areas of the house. Relatives and friends know usually to enter by the back door, which usually leads into the private, family kitchen area. Other visitors are generally unaware of this and they use the front door.

Elinor moved into a Bayview Road bungalow. Her 'back door' was reached by passing through the car garage. Although we dressed up for the visit we entered by the back door so as not to create a formal atmosphere.

Although knocking and entering simultaneously is becoming common older people would simply enter without knocking.

Ardener reminds us that absence of ceremony is a mark of privilege and insider status (1993, p.14). Knocking nowadays may reflect the greater likelihood of the visitor being a stranger, or of the privatisation of the family.

Usually the front door is locked, but, in the daytime, the back door is open. Most people say that, until only a few years ago, no-one ever locked their doors. Now, however, there were so many strangers going about and so many thefts, people said, that one had to lock one's door when not at home.

Most back doors lead into the kitchen area. The kitchen is where women do a great deal of their work and is thought of by both men and women as the female's "domain".

However the kitchen is also a family space. Thus the woman's activity and location determine the family social centre of the house (Hirschon in Ardener, 1993, p.75). This is marked by the fact that the kitchen is where a woman will cook, eat, supervise children and organise her weekly household routine. The kitchen has a phone and TV so that she can easily contact her husband at sea, friends or outside world during her work.

In the kitchen Linda has a small settee and a table and chairs where she and her husband relax in the evenings. Elinor, further up the street, has a small living room just off her kitchen, where she often sits with her children at night.

Most bungalow dwellers sit either in the kitchen or in a small sitting room at night at the back of the house. Consequently often these bungalows look empty at nights with only a hall or outdoor light shining. Stella criticised bungalow owners for apparently never sitting in their main living room: to Stella, this seemed like an extravagance and a sign of pride and unnecessary self-indulgence. Stella and her husband had bought their council house. They demolished one wall and almost doubled the size of their living room, reflecting the size of bungalow living rooms. Likewise, she had knocked down a main wall to make her kitchen large, like those in bungalows, with a separate area for a dining table and chairs. Yet she frequently asserted: "We're nae lik Balnamara folk, we dinna bather. We're nae fancy".

Stella's comments and behaviour show that there is a great deal of social competition in maintaining appearances and that those with apparently most money, the bungalow owners, are regarded as the main fashion setters in the village.

Linda explained why she stays in the kitchen at nights: the living room seemed too big for just her (even when her husband and son are at home she does not use it) and the kitchen is a busier, therefore warmer, place. It may only be coincidence that she grew up in much smaller rooms in the Fishertown.

Several retired widows and spinsters I knew spent much of their days and evenings sitting in their kitchens. Their living rooms contained their best furniture and cherished photographs of and presents from their families. These rooms were generally used for large family gatherings and for more formal occasions.

Many of the older Fishertown residents had married into a single room with virtually no furniture. They were extremely proud to be able to furnish a dining room. Like other Balnamara women Linda conserves her dining and living rooms for special occasions and has a separate bathroom preserved largely for the use of visitors. The formality of this arrangement reflects notions of privacy and formality.

A family will tend to use the smaller bathroom, and encourage visitors to use a guests' bathroom. The guest bathroom is kept immaculately clean. The small bathroom is kept very clean and tidy but, through frequent use, shows more evidence of use.

Children's bedrooms remain theoretically theirs but become guest rooms once they marry and move out. Memories of children when they stayed at home are preserved in furniture and furnishings, and in photographs and ornaments and in commentaries on the history of the house and family.

CLOTHES

Although clothes are not house furnishings they are part of the aesthetic environment, and, like furniture and furnishings, their upkeep is the responsibility of women.

Most men are 'dressed' by their wives. Women also buy clothes for themselves and for their children. Great emphasis is placed on colour co-ordination and style, as in home interior and exterior decoration.

There are very obvious similarities in the types of clothes that people wear (c.f. furniture and furnishings). A well-dressed

person (that is, patterns, styles and colours match) is deemed as "affa bonny dressed". Being 'bonny dressed' also means being immaculately clean. Young children wear bibs to keep their clothes clean and may wear more than one set of clothes in a day. Nancy, who married into a local fishing family, criticised how alike people in Balnamara dress; yet she goes on to contradict herself by saying she wouldn't want not to wear the same as everyone else because she would then look odd. She herself follows the national fashions portrayed in magazines, while Balnamara people on the whole follow fashions which are common locally, but which are also based on national fashion culture.

Young single men and women are particularly clothes-conscious: styles reflect an emphasis on trendiness, common acceptability and cleanliness. Almost all of the single men favour short, neat haircuts and neat, clean clothes: none adopted the national youth fashion of long, pony-tail length hair and shabby, 'ethnic look' clothes.

Males and females learn to adopt women's standards when very young. Betty complained that she had to re-iron her young son's trousers because he complained that the crease in the trouser legs was not pronounced enough. Four year old Sandy complained unceasingly to his mother when he discovered mud on the sole of his shoe.

CARS

Another form of the public demonstration of cleanliness, wealth and social prestige is car ownership and car cleaning.

Certain car models predominate: saloons for married couples, sports cars for young men, and large Mercedes or luxury cars for wealthy skippers.

Cars are cleaned regularly by sponging or hosing to clean the exterior. House vacuums with extensions are used to vacuum car interiors. Many cars have air-fresheners dangling from the mirror, and are polished with car interior polish. Linda was proud that when her son traded in his car to a Glasgow car dealer that the dealer commented that he had seldom seen a car of the

same age in such good condition. This is in spite of the salt air in Balnamara. Most car owners invest in a car shed to protect the car from the salt air.

People complain of the messy roads which surrounding farms and farm machinery create. They complain particularly after farmers have ploughed fields and their machinery has left long tracks of mud on public roads. Mud is seen to belong within the confines of the fields, not on public country roads. Amanda would sometimes take a longer, more circuitous route to nearby towns, purposely avoiding travelling on dirty roads and thus dirtying her car.

Cars are generally cleaned by women; men's opportunities to do so are limited to the weekend. Young men take a noticeably large degree of pride in their cars as these are their largest purchase and their main form of transport for getting out of the village, as well as enabling them to meet other single people on a Saturday night. Mothers frequently clean their sons' cars, upon request, and garage them for the week while the son is at sea.

Few fishing families have cars which are more than five years old. This may be partly because of salt air corrosion, but it is also a question of keeping up appearances. When each new car year registration appears on the roads people comment on who has bought a new car.

Newness and cleanliness represent prestige. The following quote demonstrates that a "bonny car" can demonstrate socio-economic power, prestige, cleanliness and godliness:

AW: .. a bonny car. It his ti be, well, under two year aal like, really (laughs) afore ye get doon ti at kirk, ken. It's a shame. Onybody it hisnae at is looked upon as a tink, like (AW, Tape 2, p.11).

Interestingly, the congregation of the local Church bought the minister a new car: cynics said that the congregation was embarrassed by the minister's old car. However church members thought this demonstrated their support, affection and appreciation of his work.

RELIGION, WEALTH AND CLEANLINESS

One of the most public occasions of the week is going to the church or meeting on Sunday where families are publicly seen together for virtually the only time in the week. Amanda felt that it turned religious meetings into a sort of moneyed club, where expensive clothes bought one status and religious piety:

AW: It's a disgrace thit ye've ti - ye canna get in the kirk door unless ye're dressed wi hunner poun shoes on. It ye hiv ti be fancy riggit (AW, Tape 2, p.11).

Amanda makes the connection between social acceptability, economic wealth, prestige and, by inference, cleanliness, with religious morality and piety.

Amanda is aware of how her perception of economic competition has stopped her from attending church as she feels inferior and resentful. Her perception reflects how the community is struggling to see itself as composed of equals and of members of the 'community family'.

Interestingly, the bible, hymn and prayer books, the Church of Scotland minister and Brethren elders use language which could be seen to relate to 'hygiene' or cleanliness, and moral and spiritual prestige (Douglas, 1966). Such words and concepts as purity, purification, virginity, moral purity, wholeness (both physical and spiritual), cleanliness and righteousness are linked to the behaviour of Christian believers, referring to their moral conduct and the absoluteness of their faith. Other such words include washing (in the blood of the lamb), and cleansing (through the love of and absolution from sin by God).

Amanda linked being morally pure with social status and physical appearances. She repeats this idea in the following quote:

AW: .. skippers' wives is a bittie - ye think they're affa good, ken. So ye widnae ging up unless you wis really weel in, ken (*my emphasis, to demonstrate ideas of order and exclusivity*) (AW, TR.9).

Many skippers are either elders in the church or are 'brothers' in the meetings. One has to be 'saved' to be in such positions of importance. Skippers and their wives can afford more new things than can their crews: thus things which are new or are in pristine condition are related to wealth and with church attendance and position. It seems unlikely but there may also be a feeling that God blesses some with greater fishing success than others, so that social position is ordained by God and cannot thus be challenged. Thus a few in Balnamara feel that religion is for the wealthy because they have expensive material goods which suggest a wealth and class difference from others. New and expensive clothes are also associated with cleanliness and morality. There is a strong link made by Balnamara people between cleanliness and physical appearances, and moral righteousness, religiosity, wealth and power. The village is seen as a family, thus differences divide its members and challenge the family model. Women, by effecting the necessary standards, are key to maintaining the respectability of the family and to maintaining an appearance of equality. Their success in doing so also has significant implications for them and for their families' moral, religious and social status.

CLEANLINESS, LOCALS AND INCOMERS

Linda suggests that cleanliness reflects local ethnicity, distinguishing 'locals' from 'incomers'.

Linda said the Fishertown is full of incomers, who have allowed the area to grow dirty: this is why local people have left the Fishertown, she said. However Ellen, who lives in the Fishertown, said that it was Balnamara people themselves who were to blame: they wanted to live in bigger houses 'up the brae'.

Although Linda blames incomers for the poor surroundings it is in fact largely the council's responsibility to maintain the area. One woman who owns a holiday cottage in the village always begins cleaning the moment she arrives: this is noted by locals, who praise her warmly. She is accepted by her neighbours as

being more like themselves, and therefore, to a degree, is seen as belonging to the community.

Other incomers are less concerned about cleanliness and appearances and are thus rejected from belonging to the community. Christine told me in a scandalised voice several times that incomer neighbours had a very untidy front door area, and their blinds were always down (inferring that they were lazy). This was, she said, an insult to the local families who had built the house and worked hard to maintain it.

It is often very easy to tell whether a house is occupied by a local or by an incomer. Incomers decorate their windows and treat the area around their doorsteps differently. Local windows are kept clean and are filled with certain types of ornament (see HOUSE INTERIORS). Locals keep areas round doorsteps clear and well-swept, or scrubbed. Ellen, although she appreciated the interest of her new, incomer neighbours in her, said she wished they would learn to keep the close clean, as locals did.

Local people also like to keep their property in good repair.

Many of the houses which are now holiday houses look rundown. Nina and her husband moved to Balnamara Fishertown in the late 1970's. Arriving in the village they were aware of how much they differed from local people. Not only did they have an old car and move their furniture themselves but they dressed differently too: they were less tidy and less colour and style co-ordinated. Their clothes were older and not perhaps so clean-looking.

Nina has little interest, she says, in wearing "fancy" clothes.

NW: .. So there's nae wey I wid go aboot dressed up.
An I jist dinna think they [Balnamaricks} respect that.
The young eens dinna see thit I dee that becis I wint ti
dee it (NW, Tape 2, p.5).

Nina is perhaps more conscious of what young mothers think of her because they are her peers. But she is also correct when she says that her peers have grown up and grown used to living in comparative wealth; they have never known poverty, unlike Nina's old friends in the Fishertown, who have supported her.

Nina mentioned two occasions when local children whom she was helping publicly embarrassed her by saying her shoes were old-fashioned; this also implied that they did not look clean (NW, Tape 2, p.5).

Nina greatly enjoys gardening and has at times taken over from her husband when contracted to work in a local person's garden. The local people, she says, get embarrassed that a female has to work, and that she has to work in such dirt and in old clothes. Local women do work in their gardens but they wear 'good', clean clothes and they do not work for anyone else.

If a car is older than, say, four years old, it is unlikely that it belongs to a local. The cleanliness of the car exterior and interior is another clue: if it is not well-kept it probably belongs to an incomer.

Certain types of clothes (designs and colours) and the overall effect of orderliness, neatness and cleanliness are measures of whether a person is from Balnamara. Certain hairstyles, even, are markers of identity: Balnamara women always have neat, well-groomed hair. Young men almost always have short, neat haircuts: long hair is associated with women.

Men are generally 'clean shaven'. Even facial hair such as moustaches and beards are uncommon. Linda said that when her husband came back from sea with several days' growth when they were newly married she did not recognise him. Many men, even if they allow facial hair to grow while they are at sea, will shave and wash thoroughly on the boat or in a Seaman's Mission before they return home.

Cleanliness is a sign of holding fisher values, and thus of belonging to the community.

COUNTRY AND FISHER CLEANLINESS STANDARDS

Farmers and country dwellers who live within a few miles of the village are aware of differences in appearance and attitude between country people and village fisher folk. Tom, a farmer living perhaps two miles outside the village, described young men's dress sense. Young fishermen are "very smartly dressed, ..

affa tidy! .. ye'll pick em oot in a crowd (laughs)! (TF, Tape 1, pp.3-4).

Tom then described the difference between farmers and fishermen. The farmers

TF: .. dinna compete really.. Ken, there's no way they can afford their Mercedes or a BMW. Ken, there is a few thit his at, bit .. maist o them are second haan" (TF, Tape 1, p.5).

Interestingly, when Tom moved to his present farm he noticed a big difference between farm houses surrounding Balnamara and farm houses elsewhere.

TF: .. the hooses were actually kept a good bittie better in this area, because o the fishin village .. Tidier an cleaner, an, I widnae say much mair money bit maybe mair kept up ti date (TF, Tape 1, p.5).

Tom adds:

TF: .. folk'll dee up a room in a ferm hoose an it'll dee them for ten, fifteen eer.. Bit in the village here, it's inclined ti be - as the fashions changes they'll throw them oot an jist replace them. Ken, they've obviously got a lot mair spendable income. An they replace them for the sake o keepin up i fashion.. (TF, Tape 1, p.5).

Tom says that although older farmers never have tried to compete with their fisher neighbours in terms of buying expensive cars, furniture or houses, young country men find it difficult to feel satisfied with a comparatively lower standard of living.

TF: .. i maist difficult age is fin they're left i school an wirkin on a fairm, an maybe gettin £40 .. a wik,

compared ti fower hunner poun a wik at sea. At cin caas a fair bit o friction on i fairms (TF, Tape 1, p.3).

TF: .. Difficult ti keep em on i fairm cos they're as near i village it, well, a lot o them ging ti Erinbeg Academy wi them. An they've ower muckle contact wi them. An they're inclined ti be pals through their teenage years. An fin they come ti is sivinteen, eichteen, they're aa needin their cars, is faan it really tells (TF, Tape 1, p.3).

It would seem that although the fishing village has perhaps influenced the surrounding local farming people to take more care of their farm property fisher influence on the country community nearby has increased through longer social contact at secondary school, where most of the Academy intake is from surrounding fisher villages.

Nina also points to the increasing influence of the fisher village on the surrounding country community. Country children now wear the same or similar clothes to the fisher children. Country children's parents may spend less money than fisher parents but this is because, Nina says, the country children would "hae ti hoof up a dirty path on the wey ti their hoose!" (NW, Tape 2, p.6). There are not only differences between local fisher people and incomers or surrounding farming people, but there are also putative differences between the fisher village and other neighbouring fishing communities. A friend and I went to a Portmore wedding house with our wedding gifts. Later in the evening two Portmore women admitted to us that when they heard that two Balnamara women were coming to visit they considered going home to change into their best clean clothes. Balnamara women are thought to be more house-proud than women elsewhere; Balnamara fishermen are believed to be more successful, and more religious, than other fishers. Balnamara women are thought to have more time and money to spend on their housework; hence their reputation as house proud, religiously devout and wealthy.

The reputation is perhaps built on competitiveness between some fisher communities.

Balnamara people, however, would tell you that all fisher folk have a tendency to be hard workers, that they emphasise cleanliness and Godliness, and that pride in one's industry, village, family and home expressed through physical appearances is only moral and right. Women, in their role as housewives, play a major part in maintaining these beliefs.

MOTHERHOOD

INTRODUCTION

In the following chapter I demonstrate how the idea of family is central to community life in Balnamara. Men and women are expected to marry and have children: this marks 'adulthood'. Men and women's parental roles are divided largely according to gender: men work to support the family, while women stay at home to care for the children: thus being a mother is central to defining 'womanhood'.

I show how men and women discuss parenting roles in terms of the primary importance given to his work role and consequently they define parenting roles in terms of gender and nature or economics, tradition, practicality, preference and compromise. In Balnamara there are very clear ideas about the nature of parenting for men and women, and about what constitutes a family. Models of familihood are propagated through social sanctions and religious guidance on the functions of sex and the nature of the family. These ideas help explain why there are no single mothers in the village, even though illegitimacy is not uncommon. I explore the character of the 'ideal' family and show how this model is adapted to cope with aberrations.

There are strong images associated with 'perfect family life'. However, people are aware of the practical ambiguity of their positions as married couples and as families who live apart for at least five days each week. I show that Balnamara people reconcile their experiences of family life with family 'ideals' through a dialogue about 'acceptance', or 'coping'. I also discuss through example what happens when women do not 'cope' with their roles as mothers and full-time housewives.

How women, kin and the wider community receive the news of pregnancy and childbirth is discussed, as are the support mechanisms available to women because their husbands are at

sea. Mothers are seen as particularly important sources of support for pregnant young women, giving, theoretically, emotional, moral, practical and even financial support. In practice, support varies in nature, quantity and value: some examples of this and of the consequences are considered both in this chapter and in the chapter on **FAMILY NETWORKS**.

Although a mother's support is crucial to a new mother her support is also shown to threaten to undermine the independence of the new parents and family. A mother's influence on her daughter and child is also shown to be essentially a conservative influence to reinforce her daughter's roles as housewife and mother.

News of pregnancy and childbirth is warmly received in the village, doubly confirming the adult status achieved upon marriage (see **HOUSEWIVES AND HOUSEWORK** chapter).

Husband and wife become a family when they 'have family', that is, have children. Having children also indicates a large degree of personal, moral, economic and social stability. The birth of children is therefore seen not only as an extension of the individual, of the couple, and of the wider extended family group but also as ensuring the stability and the reproduction of the community. The experience of one incomer mother is discussed to show how the community marks the couple's personal achievement and welcomes the child to the Balnamara community.

Reproduction is shown to be in everybody's interest in the community, as they are aware of their remoteness and of the threat of depopulation.

In the latter part of this chapter I discuss how having children affects spouses' relationships with each other, and how they view their roles in relation to their children and spouses. I show that many men regret their weekly separation from their families, that many would appreciate a more involved role with their children, and that they recognise that much of their wives' power and influence in their families derives from their position as the full-time child-carer.

Women express a great deal of satisfaction in their roles as mothers, but as the child grows less dependent women are shown to question why they must forego other avenues to self-expression, beyond their roles as housewives, wives and mothers. Yet women in Balnamara refuse to lower their housework standards and often refuse to put their own needs before those of their children. Although their mothers could potentially support their daughters' exploration of new roles mothers refuse to do so consistently, insisting instead that their daughters devote themselves to serving their families.

Finally I show that there is presently such a lack of emotional and practical support for mothers to develop their own needs that women channel their own desires for personal development into their aspirations for their children. These aspirations are discussed in the final part of the chapter.

EXPLANATIONS OF GENDER ROLES

'Married' (i.e. a housewife) and 'a parent' are almost synonymous descriptions in Balnamara of a woman in her mid-twenties. To achieve both social positions, in this order, is the ideal social achievement and mark of an adult woman. Being married and a parent are also ideal achievements for a man, although he takes mainly only a monetary role in household maintenance and a minor role in physically caring for his children.

The main purpose of marriage is to have children. Aged twenty-eight, I was constantly teased and told that I might as well forget marriage as I was getting too old to have children. I was also teased that I was 'too fussy' about choosing a partner; if I didn't hurry up it would 'be too late!'

Men and women give the same reason for why women are always the main, full-time carer of children: 'it aa comes doon ti the fishin'. Fishing is thought to be physically demanding, unpleasant work that is best suited to men. Fishing is work that requires full-time absence at sea; thus women 'have' to be responsible for the maintenance of household and children. This division of roles between men and women, between sea and home, was explained mainly in terms of tradition, that this

division of labour was what men and women had observed among their parents and that this was what they grew up expecting to do.

Both men and women viewed working simply as means to earn a wage to support the family. In the local area only fishing pays large wages and this entails the almost full-time absence of the wage-earner, thus making it seem necessary that the other partner is at home looking after the house and children.

No explicit comment was made to me that women were biologically better suited to full-time parenthood than men.

However the continuing universal adherence to the division of work roles in Balnamara, despite awareness of new gender roles, and the fact that even when women earlier this century often provided the only family income women were still the primary carers of children might suggest that some people may believe women are biologically better suited to full-time parenthood.

It is extremely important to note that there is high social status in Balnamara in being a full-time mother and housewife. For a woman not to have to go out to work once she is married, and particularly once she has children, is viewed as a sign of wealth and thus of social and moral prestige.

Men are hugely interested in their wives and children and spoke with regret of parting and with delight of reunion with their families. Men, while at sea, constantly think and talk about their families and look forward to getting home again. Many men said they would prefer to be at home with their families on a more regular basis and some men say this has led to them taking oil-industry jobs because this allows them more time ashore.

No woman ever said she would prefer to be a fisherman than a housewife and mother, although some did express interest in part-time work. Women saw their roles as mothers as being the most rewarding part of their lives. They seemed emotionally much more satisfied than their husbands who lived in an emotional 'time-capsule' during the week. Willy said that fishermen often wished their lives away (TR.128, WN) by thinking of their wives and children and by looking forward to being at home with them.

Women do not see themselves as oppressed by men, as prevented from doing satisfying jobs outside the home and forced to look after children as lone (or 'single', as women said) parents. They see that different personal and social circumstances conspire to curtail their opportunities for change. There are few jobs available to women, married or single, and few of these are seen as emotionally or intellectually satisfying. Indeed most women do not expect intellectual satisfaction from paid work. The only career that some women in the village imagine is intellectually satisfying is nursing, and this is largely because of the emotional involvement envisaged in caring for others, itself seen as a 'mothering' type of role.

Men do not expect intellectual or even emotional satisfaction from fishing or from any other job. Several men I spoke to did find fishing an emotionally and intellectually challenging job but they were skippers with greater responsibilities and decisions to make. No other alternatives to fishing are available locally and the ideologies of the family and of religious belief keep them strongly tied to parents, fishing enterprise and community. Many men and women see their roles as complementary. By having so many distinct responsibilities many men and women feel they have greater autonomy, control and a clearer sphere of power and influence.

Men and women both feel that they have to compromise - he misses his family and she misses his support - in order to achieve a reasonable standard of living and to remain resident in the village.

IDEOLOGY AND VALUE OF FAMILY LIFE

It is assumed that every adult, male and female, wants to be married and to have children. Isabel, a spinster in her sixties, said she would have liked to have married and had children but 'the desirables wisnae available and the availables wisnae desirable'. She suffered especially in the winter from depression and attributed it to loneliness and the feeling that, despite serving the community in a public service job and as a children's Sunday School teacher and treasurer to the Women's Guild she

had never felt fully accepted because she was a childless spinster. She felt harassed by her siblings who implied she was weak and dependent because she didn't have a husband; and who felt sorry for her because she had no children to visit her and no grandchildren to give her a role in her later years.

My friends in Balnamara said they couldn't understand why, aged twenty-eight, I wasn't married, didn't I want to have children? Amanda had "ayewis wintit bairns". She thought every female naturally wanted to get married and to have children. When I objected that I hadn't found someone I wanted to marry she, like others, would tell me that surely I was 'ower fussy'.

Friends playfully introduced me to their brothers or single friends. On one occasion a friend arranged to borrow a toddler to have me wheel her round the streets in a push-chair: this was, I was laughingly told later, to make me feel "broody".

As a childless female I was ineligible to join activities such as the Mothers and Toddlers Group, the Playschool or the Parent-Teacher Association, and I had no children to talk about with other women my age.

Single women are marginalised, though not intentionally, by their spinsterhood, as are single men.

A couple attain adult status when they marry; this status is confirmed and enhanced when they have children. Before they have children they are a 'couple'; they have 'family' (children) to become a family.

All the ceremonies and publicity surrounding courtship and marriage highlight the importance of the family and the creation of a new unit who become a family once they have a child. Men in particular are thought to 'settle down' once they marry and particularly once they are also fathers.

News of pregnancies is eagerly shared in the community and the birth of a new child causes much discussion and precipitates a new round of present-giving and social visiting of the 'new' family. Such ceremonies and the attention paid to children emphasise the importance to the community of the regeneration of its population so that not only the family but the community is reproduced.

Ideological models of the family are propagated through community discourse. Positive role models are broadcast through gossip against those who threaten models of familiness and by the confluence of moral and religious sanctions against pre-marital sex and pregnancy. The village minister objected to marrying congregation members to non-believers and would almost certainly have objected to marrying a woman and man who were expecting a child. The village women I knew who conceived out of wedlock married in churches or registry offices outside the village.

Thus a set of criteria emerges which defines what an 'ideal' family is: an ideal family is composed of a heterosexual couple who marry and have children while in their twenties. He is a full-time, hard-working fisherman and she is a full-time housewife and mother who is also hard-working and dedicated to the care of her family.

ILLEGITIMACY

Discourse about sex is related very clearly to local ideology of familiness.

There is a great deal of pressure against pre-marital sex and illegitimacy. Pre-marital sex is disapproved of, partly because of the religious belief that sex is permitted only between spouses and partly because the acceptable model of parenting includes marriage of heterosexual partners.

Abortion is publicly abhorred and is seen by many as a religious sin. Even among those who are not religiously devout abortion is regarded unfavourably. Thus, if a single woman becomes pregnant, it is seen as the 'duty' of the parents to marry.

There are no unmarried mothers of any age in Balnamara; therefore there has never been a role model for young women in the village to think it acceptable to be a single parent. Yet, ironically, married women describe themselves as like single parents because their husbands are absent so frequently.

Natalie's parents were Christians who attended church regularly. Natalie refused to have sex with boyfriends because she was

afraid of becoming pregnant and would be "petrified" of her father's reaction (TR.51, NN).

During a conversation about premarital sex and pregnancy one young mother commented, "Ken is, I'd hate it if any of my quines cam hame an said they were pregnant at sivinteen - I'd be affa disappintit - for their sakes really". Having a child outwith the approved conditions is seen as unnecessarily limiting personal choice and opportunity, even though marriage and parenthood are the ultimate social achievements.

The local Church of Scotland minister preached about the 'God-given gift of sexual intimacy and knowledge' that occurs only 'within the bounds of marriage'. He added that children needed strong religious beliefs to be able to refuse pre-marital sex. The hymns chosen to complement this theme had verses which spoke of the singers' wishes to be "clean", and which linked ideas about single people, virginity, spiritual purity and obedience.

The pressure against pre-marital sex and childbirth is perennial, regardless of strength of religious beliefs locally. Older women occasionally spoke of female family members and friends in the past who had to marry because they were pregnant.

AGE

Although having children is a desirable social achievement a parent should be married and of an appropriate age. Parents can be too young or too old and, if so, are talked about.

Ideally a couple should have their children while in their twenties: no particular reason is given as to why, but reasons may relate to fertility patterns and the establishment by men of new economic units that become 'families' when children are born.

When a young single woman becomes pregnant the situation has repercussions not only for the couple but also for their families, who see illegitimacy as a social embarrassment and as detrimental to the life choices of the couple.

Amanda became pregnant when she was seventeen and single. She and her partner immediately arranged to marry within five weeks (most marriages are planned a year in advance). Eliza and her mother commented several years later, though admitting

they thought Amanda was a successful mother and wife, that Amanda had been too young: at seventeen she was not yet approaching adulthood.

Amanda knew that her parents too thought her too young to be pregnant and getting married: she several times mentioned to me that her father had cried at her wedding because his daughter was pregnant and that "even the minister" had not thought the marriage would last.

In 1989 Mike, the young son of a wealthy fisherman, married his girlfriend, who was pregnant. The news of the illegitimacy and early marriage seemed more scandalous because he belonged to a wealthy and religious family. Mike's grandmother commented that she and her grandson's parents were "affa disappintit" by the 'accident'.

A friend of Mike's said that it was ridiculous that the couple had to marry: they should have taken proper sexual precautions. However the friend showed much envy of the couple when the child was born and a 'family' created.

FAMILY SUPPORT OF THE PREGNANT BRIDE AND HER GROOM

If a woman is pregnant the decision to marry and have a child born within wedlock is the couple's decision, although they are probably aware of public expectations that they 'should'. The parents' reaction to the pregnancy is often one of disappointment. However, parents are expected to rally round and help the couple pay for the wedding as well as to help plan a marital home.

Natalie recounted how she had lived in fear of becoming pregnant while single and of her father's reactions; yet when her younger sister Madeline became pregnant her father gave her, according to Natalie, "the best of everything" to get married with. Despite 'mistakes' the ideology of the family is reasserted: parents try to ignore the social disgrace of premarital pregnancy by arranging an expensive, large wedding to celebrate the family, as they would have done in more 'normal' circumstances: for example, despite severe financial worries, Amanda's parents paid

for one hundred and twenty guests to attend Amanda's wedding. Mike, mentioned above, had almost three hundred guests at his wedding.

I asked Amanda how people in Balnamara reacted to news of her pregnancy and hastily arranged marriage:

AW: I dinna ken fit ither folk's attitude really wis cos they widnae really come up an say ti ye "Well, I dinna approve". They wid jist probably caa ye ahin yer back, ken, here ..

GM: There must've been quite a lot a quines thit ...?

AW: There wis a few at i time it got mairriet, ken, so it wisnae really si bad for me becis there wis two or three folk expectin at the same time thit wisnae mairriet, so it wis .. aaricht, ken .. I still think at's pretty common, ken (TR.40, AW).

After the initial public shock of the pregnancy, and once the wedding has been arranged, people generally 'rally round' in the same way that Natalie's father did by offering as much help, gifts and support that they can, thus reasserting the ideology of familihood.

ILLEGITIMACY AND HISTORY

Illegitimacy seems to have featured in all generations (e.g. Cramond, 1888). Recently a sixty-year old woman found out that her parents had been "forced" to get married. Her mother let the secret out by accident, much to her sixty-year old daughter's amusement! None of the elderly woman's siblings had told their children, so the illegitimacy was well hidden.

Women in their seventies and eighties discussed these incidents in hushed voices, showing a sense of compassion and social embarrassment. They said that sexual knowledge about reproduction was not nearly so widespread as it was now and that women were "ashamed", whether married or single, if they became pregnant. One woman watched a married woman appear fleetingly in public, clasping a basin over her pregnant shape.

Margaret said that pre-marital conception was much more common among her parents' generation in the 1920's and '30's than in subsequent generations.

Perhaps the availability (at least theoretically) of contraception from the 1950's onwards made pre-marital conception more scandalous. The 1950's however was also a period of religious revival and this may have compounded the public abhorrence of pre-marital conception.

A grandmother told her about-to-marry niece, "Ee niver ken fin ee sleep wi a man", adding "I wis aye awa wi the first puff o ween!" She inferred that her granddaughter might be as fertile as she was and that her granddaughter should beware!

Contraception, elderly women said, was seldom discussed, even within the context of marriage. My grandmother's sister recalls how she was totally ignorant of how babies were conceived until she found herself pregnant.

During the two years I lived in Balnamara three children were conceived out of (but were born into) wedlock, despite increasing sexual awareness and the availability of contraception.

AVAILABILITY OF CONTRACEPTION

Young married mothers discussed the difficulty of getting contraceptives before they married. Most said they had premarital sex using either no contraception at all or using condoms. This was partly due to the difficulty of obtaining the Pill. Most feared that their visit to the doctor's surgery would be reported to their parents. The then current doctor seemed very unhelpful and off-putting. To get the Pill they felt they had to have the excuse of getting married. Natalie asked for the Pill only once she was married. Nancy got the Pill three months before she married. The doctor asked them why they wanted the Pill, a question that the women found extremely embarrassing since sex was only discussed with their sexual partners. The local doctor also gave the women an internal examination; the women suspected that this was to see if the hymen was still in place. They regarded him as "a fool aal mannie".

Although he had professional status and was made technically genderless by his profession the women felt he had an unprofessional interest in them.

Thus the women faced social prejudice against pre-marital sex and what amounted to moral censure from the doctor.

Although contraception is theoretically easily available in 'Pill' form today, young single girls may hesitate before making a medical appointment because of observation by local staff and patients.

The local Church of Scotland ran a campaign in the 1980's against abortion - it was part of the national church 'Pro-Life' movement. Human life is regarded as God-given. Many people wore a badge in the shape of two feet, symbolising the feet of an aborted foetus.

Rumour suggested that abortion was more common than religious leaders suspected.

'TOO OLD'

Sex and reproduction are associated with a female's early twenties. Pregnancies before or after this are often suspected of being 'mistakes' and are seen as socially embarrassing, not only for the couple but for their wider families.

Brigid already had two school-age children when she became pregnant again at the age of thirty-three: her relatives all expressed great surprise at the news and most thought the pregnancy was 'a mistake'. Brigid said to family that indeed the pregnancy was 'a mistake'.

Women who have had difficulty in conceiving children and who become pregnant when over forty meet a similar response to that of very young mothers. Pam, in her sixties, pointed out a woman who, after almost two decades trying to conceive, was pregnant. Pam saw the woman as being rather curious.

Geraldine became pregnant when forty-seven. She already had four children, the eldest of whom was married with children of her own. When villagers heard the news they were shocked: they thought it a tragedy for the mother especially, but also for the father and their children. Many said they thought the married

daughter would be particularly embarrassed since Geraldine was a grandmother to her children.

Geraldine felt acutely socially disgraced. Although a regular church attendee she stopped going to church once the news broke. When she did reappear in church she sat in a front row with her back to the majority of the congregation so that she would be last to file out of church.

Everyone assumed Geraldine and her husband had 'made a mistake' and, her friend confided, Geraldine had admitted this. Part of villagers' reaction of shock came from the demonstration through pregnancy that the couple still had sex and that Geraldine was obviously still fertile, like her daughter or any other young woman.

When the responsibility of taking Geraldine into hospital fell to one of her sons, himself old enough to be a father, villagers were shocked that the shame of Geraldine's position was exacerbated by a husband who did not give his wife enough emotional and practical support.

Public shock at Geraldine's pregnancy stemmed partly from the belief that Geraldine was thought too old to bring up another child; her most appropriate role was as grandmother.

Geraldine was encouraged, like Brigid, to rest as much as possible, especially in the later stages of the pregnancy. After the birth Geraldine was extremely tired. Her friend said she would take longer than younger mothers to recover. Geraldine's sisters, who were retired, took a very active role in helping Geraldine with her new baby daughter. Geraldine's married daughter, although she lived fourteen miles away, also provided much help. Similarly, when Brigid's baby daughter was born her mother, her mother-in-law and sisters were extremely attentive, and tried to ensure Brigid got enough rest. Both women's babies were lavished with presents and attention immediately after the birth, though it was unclear whether public attention was greater and more supportive than for a younger mother. Whatever the circumstances that the child is born into the community welcomes the birth.

Once news of Geraldine's pregnancy broke older people recalled how a 'late baby' was quite a common occurrence in their generation and in that of their parents. They were trying to lessen the impact of the news and thus support and sympathise with Geraldine and her family.

Geraldine's pregnancy had social repercussions for Geraldine's relatives especially. Relatives were expected to share in the embarrassment Geraldine felt at being pregnant. Relatives were also be expected to be sympathetic and supportive to Geraldine and her family.

Women sympathise with those who have 'late babies': one comment was a resigned and slightly humorous "Och weel, there's aye somebody else".

Several young women suggested that it would be nice to have a late baby: Anna mused: "I think it'd be fine ti hae anither een efter a big gap atween them". Other women wanted to have finished child-bearing in a short space of time: Phillipa said she wanted to have a third and last baby by the time she was thirty; then her husband would have to 'get his tubes tied'.

A woman in her sixties thought that women in their thirties are too old and "set in yer weys" to have children. She thought that the older a woman is, the less suitable she is to parent a child; a person is less suitable still if they have never had any children.

CONCLUSION

Whatever the circumstances surrounding the birth of a child the community accepts the child and parents, and thus reassert the ideology of the perfect family.

CHILDREN AS DEPENDANTS

Once a baby is born a woman becomes a full-time mother and housewife (see previous chapter). Her primary responsibilities are to the child (see THE EFFECTS OF MOTHERHOOD ON SPOUSES' RELATIONSHIPS and RESTRICTING YOUR TIME OUT, below).

Anna commented that a woman 'feels differently' about her children compared to her husband: mothers prioritise their

children because they are 'your own flesh and blood', and they are always dependent on particularly a mother's support. Hence a mother should feel that she should always 'be there', twenty-four hours a day, for her children.

The sense of the dependency of child upon mother is promoted throughout childhood and even into adulthood. Single children do not leave home until they marry. I asked Mark why none of the young single fishermen bought their own homes:

MR: Well, that's somethin I've niver understood ..they jist like bidin at hame, ken - get attendit haan an fit fin they come hame... An maybe they feel obliged ti bide at hame cos.. like meevin oot o the nest, ken - .. ken, "they hae their ain flat" .. "At's affa at, meevin awa fae's ken, an they're nae mairriet" (TR.114, MR).

Mark's remark highlights how single young people are dependent upon their mother's physical and general emotional care for them; and that there is emotional pressure on them to stay with their mothers until marriage, an event which marks their independence and, ironically, their inter-dependence in another couple-based family environment. "Meevin awa fae's" expresses a sense of rejection of the parental home and of family identity. 'Practical' reasons are sometimes quoted by mothers to prevent an unmarried child moving out of the home. For example, it is difficult for single people or their mothers to see the practical value of having two homes, for a single man seldom becomes independent of female labour and support; and young single women can't afford to buy a house.

(The experience of children moving out of the home is discussed below in **THE CHILD'S GENDER**; and the long-term effects of full-time motherhood on women in **EDUCATION AND TRADITIONAL ROLES**).

THE 'PERFECT FAMILY LIFE'

Just as there are models of the perfect family structure (see above) there are strong social pressures to see the division of

parental roles and gender roles in general as natural and 'perfect'. Yet women describe themselves as 'like single parents' who have a 'normal' life only at weekends:

NS: .. I'm like a single parent all week An we're a married, normal - nae normal, but a married couple wi two kids at the weekend. Ye're really like jist a single mum all week... (TR.81, NS).

Anna admits that being seen to cope well as a single parent is difficult:

AW: It is, it is hard .. bringin up two bairns on yer own aa week ... (TR.19, AW).

As an incomer to Balnamara Nancy finds it difficult to accept what she thinks is the suppression by women of signs of stress and difficulty in order to give an image of "the perfect family, the perfect kids, the perfect life" (TR.82, NS).

How women cope with their role as 'single' mothers in an atmosphere that encourages women to appear independent, yet ironically dependent on their mothers and husbands, and to appear to be the perfect mother of perfect children, despite the absence of the father, is discussed in various sections below.

EXPERIENCING PREGNANCY

In the following sections I discuss how women experience pregnancy and childbirth to demonstrate the support she gets from both her family and the community.

Being pregnant carries high social status as it confirms adulthood and the stability of the family and community. News, or even rumours, of pregnancy are eagerly discussed by women in the village, especially if it is a recently married couple's first child. A couple with a child constitutes a family, whereas a childless married couple is almost 'in limbo', getting ready to have a child. Pregnancy brings the pregnant woman, and her husband, personal and social status. The pregnancy is monitored by other

women in the community who show interest and pleasure by constantly asking after the mother's health. Amanda said she really enjoyed the social attention being pregnant brought: it increased her own feelings of contentment with her role as mother.

Brigid, noting that my kitchen window looked onto the doctor's surgery, laughed and said that if I watched the surgery door on a Wednesday morning, I would soon know who was pregnant. Being able to pass on such news makes one a valued conversationalist.

THE CHILD'S GENDER

I was frequently told that "aabody" wants their first child to be a "loonie". However women also say they "dinna care" what the sex of the child is. Most say they would like a child of each sex.

When I asked why many women had such a special liking for boys I was told that this was a 'natural' instinct.

Women however also said they wanted a daughter as she would share gender experiences with her mother and would always remain close to her natal family, involving her family in the care of her own children more fully than would a daughter-in-law.

Amanda wanted a "a little quinie like Sarah Hill". She thought that every woman wanted a daughter because "they're lik yersel, ken". Sarah was Amanda's friend's daughter. Amanda longed to dress her own daughter in the pretty, feminine clothes which Amanda wore when she was young.

Very often the first son to be born is named after his father.

However it is now uncommon for any daughter to be named after her mother. Perhaps the desire to have a boy first is to ensure the continuity of the family surname.

When boys and girls are adolescent, mothers encourage daughters more than sons to look after their own physical needs. Whereas a girl is expected to help her mother cook, clean and do housework, a boy is expected to do none of this, especially once he becomes a wage-earner.

A mother seems to encourage her son's dependence on her, perhaps knowing that he will eventually become more independent of her once he marries than does a daughter. Linda has a bachelor son of thirty. She will cancel a day's trip or even a lunchtime appointment so that her son is not left to cook a meal for himself.

Often I wondered if some women purposely do not skill their sons in basic techniques of personal care so that their sons' reliance on them will make them feel 'needed'.

On one occasion Patsy asked her married daughter to "look efter ma loon" when she was away. Her daughter replied, "He's aal enough ti look efter himsel". Patsy looked displeased. She also disapproved of her daughter working part-time while she had two school-age children.

When Jim got married his mother Chris cried as if she were broken-hearted. She later explained that as he walked up the aisle she thought her son was "gaan awa ti leave's". Later, when I told her, her husband and married daughters of my frustrated efforts to keep in touch with my brother and his girlfriend Chris's husband commented that sons always are less faithful to their natal family after marriage.

Anna said that there is a natural polarity of the sexes, based on the gendered nature of personal and social experience, which means that inevitably her daughter will prefer her mother's company while her son would equally inevitably prefer his father's company, despite the fact that Anna was her son's primary carer.

AW: .. he's mair for his dad thin [for me]. Bit I'm the een it's been there aa the time. Bit he still - he likes his dad best. He ayewis his deen .." (TR.21, AW).

Anna seems to say that the stronger bond between father and son than between mother and son is a natural phenomenon, a matter of gender and role identification, rather than a matter of cultural training.

I asked Anna if her husband was interested in taking an active part in his child's upbringing.

AW: .. He's good wi the bairns .. he wints ti dee it.

He's ayewis been affa good, especially wi Alasdair.

He's ayewis teen an interest in his upbringing ..

GM: Dis he read til em or onything lik at?

AW: He did - ay, he reads things, stories an at til im, an explains. He's a lot of patience wi im, explainin things til im, ken, fin he asks questions, an jist learnin him things (TR.11, AW).

It is very interesting how a question concerning both children ("em") turns into an answer from Anna about "im" (him). This probably reflects not only the different ages and learning abilities of the children but the close relationship between father and son compared to a weaker relationship between father and daughter.

ROLE LEARNING

When at home Harry would regularly visit his parents. While his daughter Tina was too small to walk by herself he took only his son (who could walk) with him. However he encouraged his daughter to go to sea with him in a small boat along with her brother but her mother and grandmother panicked, both because she was very young and because she was female. In this instance it was difficult to tell whether decisions were made by the women based on the child's gender, age or ability.

Sheila had a similar experience to relate about how her son would 'naturally' follow his father rather than his mother.

The following quote may mean a question of personal compatibility rather than a question of same-sex identification, but Natalie often said she could 'do almost anything with Fiona' but said she "canna mak a fart o Frances". Yet she would often illustrate her son's love for and identification with his mother by asking him before guests, "Ee're nae seekin ti get mairriet, are ee? Ee're jist gaan ti bide wi yer mither, aren't ee?!"

Women in Balnamara often asked their sons this rhetorical question, expecting the same rhetorical reply. Hilary told her son to get himself a girlfriend at the roller disco, but said that surely he loved his mum best? Her son agreed but added that he also loved his father.

Gavin, aged four, was asked who his girlfriend was and whom he was going to marry. He was expected to answer "Sarah Hill", the girl he spent most time playing with. At other times he would be asked by visitors "Is Sarah yer blon, Gavin?!" "Blon" is a word adolescents and adults use to mean 'girlfriend' - Gavin would give a smile and a manly "Ay!" His mother was delighted to tell me how Gavin had given Sarah a set of pearl beads which he had got in a sweets bag - this mimicked the jewellery which older, adolescent men give girlfriends.

It was also common to hear mothers say to a child: "Bit ye still love yer mam i best, divn't ye?" or "Faa div ye like i best?" together with some suggestions. The child eventually learned to say the name of whoever was asking the question - this could be a mother or, occasionally, a grandmother. Thus women encourage their sons to place special importance in their mothers, and to define themselves in terms of a relationship to a female, in the same way that women define themselves in terms of their relationships with their children.

GENERATIONS OF CHILDREN

Pregnant mothers form 'generations', as do their children. If a particular mother is mentioned as being pregnant other women will rehearse the names of other mothers 'due' at the same time. Thus the community is aware of generations of women and children who will share social experiences through child- and adulthood.

Pregnant women show interest in each other during and after pregnancy: they compare their pregnancies and look forward to having new babies together in the same hospital or ward. The babies and mothers will form generations of parents and children and adults.

Friendships between mothers rely, to an extent, on the depth of their friendships before pregnancy, but pregnancy does give them life and age experiences to share.

After the mother and child leave hospital an ante-natal class reunion is held where mothers meet up on a social basis. Women in Balnamara sometimes form relations with women from other villages who attend the same ante-natal classes or who recuperate in the same ward; but these friendships become hard to maintain because of travelling distances and because both mothers will be busy caring for a young child.

Not only do children grow up as 'generations', sharing childhood experiences, there is the expectation that they will form generations of parents who have children who will probably repeat the pattern.

During a discussion about having children one young mum was discussing a best friend's new baby. Nancy said that her friend and husband had encouraged Nancy and her husband to 'try for a bairn' at the same time.

When Amanda became pregnant she was delighted when her friend Sam also became pregnant. The married couples already had one child each of almost the same ages who played together frequently. The couples had also gone on holiday together (as had Amanda and her best friend).

Amanda had a miscarriage; so when Sam's child was born Amanda was quietly sad, remembering that she should have given birth at the same time.

Older age groups also show the same pattern of friends having children of similar ages, and of sharing timing of events in the life-cycle.

Thus there are almost assured numbers of people at different stages of the life-cycle: this promotes population stability and a balanced population structure.

An added advantage to women of having children in their twenties is that their mothers are also young enough to be actively involved, if desired, in child-care. Young mothers find this support important because they have so little daily practical support from their husbands.

SPACING OF CHILDREN

Most women have their children in their twenties, with less than four years between each child. The commonest gap appeared to be two or three years.

Some commented on the financial implications of having a second child too soon: Amanda had a three year old son when she began to 'try' for another child; until then the couple could not afford to equip a second bedroom. Younger couples are also less likely to have enough financial security to have a second child soon after the first.

A local teacher thought that women planned their pregnancies so that as one child went to school there was another at home to look after, because women in Balnamara had little career or job prospects or interests. Natalie gives the same explanation, although her explanation may relate to the loss of an emotionally satisfying full-time job as child-carer than to a lack of career prospects. Natalie describes her feelings as her youngest child starts school:

NN: ... there's Fiona awa ti the school. I'm twinty-eight an at's her awa ti the school. An at's me left - noo fit div ye dee wi the rest o yer life, see? It's pretty borin .. [You think,] "Gosh, fit are ye gin ti dee wi the rest o yer life?" (TR.52, NN).

Natalie shows that child-rearing of under five's is regarded as a full-time career and that when this period is over young women feel a diminution in their role as mother and in their self-esteem. These feelings seemed to become most apparent to my friends once their first child went to school, whether or not they had another younger child at home to care for.

TELLING THE FAMILY OF A PREGNANCY

News of pregnancy is first shared with a woman's partner and with her mother. Then the pregnant woman's sisters, mother- and sisters-in-law are told, as well as any close friends. Once

cousins are told the news begins to filter out into the community. Even within the wider family of cousins and aunts questions about pregnancies are asked gingerly at first as pregnancy in its early and most dangerous stages is a personal matter to the close family.

Amanda asked me to buy her a pregnancy-prediction test, so I knew of her pregnancy before her mother or husband. When this later became clear to her mother Amanda and I were very embarrassed and Amanda stressed the accidental nature of the sequence of events. However, when she fell pregnant again her husband and mother both knew before I, re-establishing the pattern of information and support sharing between kin.

Although one may be 'kin' the friendship element in the kin relationship may influence the level and speed of knowledge of the pregnancy. For me the 'reward' of frequent visiting of my relatives was being the first cousin to be given such news. When visiting my mother's sister-in-law she prompted her daughter-in-law with "You've got a wee bit o news". Her daughter-in-law said quietly, with a broad smile, that she was pregnant (her first child). She was "affa pleased". My aunt intended to phone my other aunts and uncles, who would tell their children.

Children are seen as a valuable addition to extended family, and extended family should feel a special kin affinity with the child (see **FAMILY NETWORKS** chapter).

A child becomes part of a large extended family. Family members, particularly mothers (in-law), sisters (-in-law) and grandparents share in the parents' pleasures and trials almost as if they themselves were the parents.

Relatives share gender roles and experiences and feel at a personal loss if a relative cannot share in these. This becomes most obvious when a woman experiences pregnancy problems.

PREGNANCY PROBLEMS

Though pregnant herself Martina was aware of her sister-in-law's problems in conceiving and carrying a child to full-term. Wendy had twice miscarried and was undergoing fertility treatment. Martina was aware that her happy news would make her mother-

and sister-in-law reflect on their losses and difficulties. Martina said she wished her sister-in-law could have a child at the same time as Martina so that they could share the experience of being mother to children of the same age. (Children, and to some extent their mothers, of the same age and school class are thought to form generations within the community who are like, to some degree, siblings). When I added that she would meet other mothers at ante-natal classes Martina explained that other women's pregnancies would not be 'the same'. I knew that relations between Martina and her in-laws had, at times, been strained and Martina obviously hoped that being pregnant together would draw them closer together.

The wish to have children who are the same age as your sister's children has a practical explanation as well as emotional and social ones: it is easier to ask your sister or sister-in-law to baby-sit your child as one can 'eese mair freedom' with her. Cousins are other important sources of shared experience and baby-sitters.

During visits several years earlier I had learnt from an older woman about the disappointment and pain a young woman and, in fact, her parents and siblings feel when either a couple experience fertility problems or the mother miscarries. My friend spoke of her daughter's misery in hushed tones, as if she were close to tears. When I spoke to her daughter later she reacted in the same way. Wendy had stopped work and had got married: she wanted to have children and she and her husband had bought a house with two extra bedrooms, in anticipation of parenthood. While Wendy celebrated her friends' pregnancies she was undergoing fertility tests. As the oldest child of four and the first to marry Wendy wanted to share her children with her parents and siblings. Her confidantes, therefore, were her mother and sister.

Complications in a pregnancy or danger to the foetus or child are taken very seriously and family especially will rally round with practical and emotional help. When Brigid was told by the doctor to put her feet up and not work because of very high blood pressure, her husband Sandy, a skipper, stayed at home and

looked after her and their two young children. I met him one day as he walked down to the village shops and offered to help. He said gratefully that he already had offers of help from his mother, his sister, his wife's mother and sisters, and his brother's wife. Earlier in the pregnancy Sandy had also supported her when she resisted friends and relations' advice to put her feet up more often, his wife saying she had to be 'on the go': she couldn't sit down for nine months as she had to look after her other children and husband.

Amanda's second pregnancy went badly: she lost the baby. Other women were very sad to hear the news and asked me, her best friend, and her female relatives to pass on their best wishes.

Three other mothers talked about the difficulties of pregnancy: one criticised the doctor who examined her, saying his internal probing was dangerous to the child. Two of the three mothers had, or had nearly, 'lost' unborn babies through miscarriages. The dangers of miscarriage or damage to the child and mother are widely acknowledged. This increases delight at the birth of a healthy baby.

If an unborn child dies it is expected that a father, though at sea working during the fishing season, will fly home to comfort his wife. If the child, however, dies after s/he is born, not only the father but even uncles or the bereaved mother and father's cousins will fly home for the funeral. The dead baby, because for a while s/he became a part of the community, is publicly honoured by all the relatives and friends of the bereaved couple. Linda occasionally talks about Mary, her first child, who died within a few days of her birth. Linda talks about how old Mary would be now, had she lived. Linda says that this is why she is so fond of her niece, Brigid, because Brigid was the same age as Mary and Linda often baby-sat for Brigid after 'losing' Mary.

One day Linda's son Frank, who had not been born when Mary died, came to tell his mother that he had laid a wreath at Mary's grave: thus Mary had been given an extraordinary degree of identity in the family.

A friend of Linda's, Margaret, whose husband had crewed for Linda's skipper husband, would talk of my aunt's loss when she

recalled the birth of her own daughter, Ann. Margaret still feels sadness and a little guilt when remembering that Mary died but that her own child lived.

Margaret and Linda would sometimes talk about Mary: it drew the women emotionally closer together.

Sharing in one or joint pregnancies brings women closer together emotionally and practically and also brings family members closer together.

FATHERS' INVOLVEMENT IN THE BIRTH OF CHILDREN

Parental roles are not negotiated prior to conception. A woman accepts that her husband's first loyalty is to his job: if the fishing season is in progress the fisherman must go to sea. This is typical of a pattern of behaviour regarding parental roles.

I asked Anna if she would have liked her husband to be present when she gave birth.

AW: It didnae buther ma .. I wid've liked im ti be there at the birth bit he couldnae mak it. So I didnae burst intae tears or nithin lik at. I jist acceptit it (TR.10, AW).

Hamish, recently retired, was asked to go to sea again to (temporarily) replace one of the crew. This crewman's wife had just given birth and, Tom's wife said unsympathetically, was "hadin a wark", insisting that her husband should stay at home with her and the baby for a short while. Later, when the butcher rang Hamish's wife, she told him "I hinna ma man", as if she had been left unfairly alone. She then said that new mothers of today couldn't be made of the same 'tough stuff' that her generation of women were made of.

Although her mum was with her when she was admitted to hospital Anna felt that despite this and the presence of medical staff, "I wis really on ma own" (TR.10, AW).

If a woman's husband is at home when she goes into labour he will take her into hospital. Only a few younger fathers have been

present during the birth as it is still regarded as a female experience.

A mother's support is vital to the woman going into labour. Her help is also essential to the new mother in helping her adjust to and cope with her new role. Examples of the mother's support are given in the chapter 'FAMILY NETWORKS'.

FEMALE SUPPORT DURING PREGNANCY

Amanda always seemed happy when she was pregnant: she became the centre of family attention as the women charted her health and progress in the pregnancy and offered help and advice to lighten her daily chores.

During pregnancy women may share their experiences of childbirth and child-care. Such conversations exclude men.

GM: Fin ye wis expectin .. did ye get a lot o support fae the weemin roon aboot, an did ye speak aboot it wi pals?

AW: Ay, wi pals an at .. Cos my .. best freen wis expectin at the same time ..

It wis discussed a lot wi weemin, wi us. An then ma mum startit ti - lik you'd've gotten bits an pieces thit I'd niver kent aboot afore, she wid tell ye .. lik fin she wis haein me an ma breethir (TR.10-11, AW).

As the birth approaches women discuss when she is due, and then if there is "ony word" if she has gone into hospital yet. Recently I was told that Eliza was "due ony day noo"; then a few days later I met her grandmother's sister-in-law who told me Eliza had just gone off to hospital and that she, Annie, would phone me when she knew whether the baby was boy or a girl.

Everyone is expected to be interested in the child and especially in its sex: Annie expected me to be interested, even though I barely knew Eliza.

Thus having so much support and interest from family and other women in the community is important in helping the mother cope with the traumatic experiences of childbirth.

INCOMERS' EXPERIENCES OF CHILDBIRTH IN THE VILLAGE

Trisha, an incomer to the village, found local people very concerned about her and her new child, although, not knowing what to say to her, they 'handed in' presents for the baby and mother rather than make a social visit. They were unsure of how Trisha would welcome visits from people she knew so little of.

TW: .. an the amount of cards an gifts thit I hid at the hospital, an the amount thit wis here fin I came through the door! .. It wis fae folk thit I hid kinna said "hallo" till fin I'd geen oot waakin. Bit I certainly, in nae wey, kent them at that point ..

I widda recognised the names on the .. parcels an on the cards, like.

Bit, I mean, there wis nae holds barred. There wis, lik, full pram suits, knitted, hand-knitted, nithing bought - everything wis hand-knitted. An, really fine-ply cardigans, ay, cardigans, an hats, an goodness knows fit aa ... (Tape 1, Track A, TW).

Local people celebrated the birth of Trisha's baby through giving her presents; all children are celebrated in the village.

CHILDBIRTH

Women in Balnamara generally prefer to have their children in the local hospital nearby, but, if there are likely to be any complications or if the mother is over thirty, she will be sent to Aberdeen for the birth and then be transferred for recuperation to the local hospital. The local hospital is popular among mothers both because it is closer to home and because they will probably know, if not be very friendly with, other local women there who have just had children.

There is much relief among the mother's family when the child is born safely and in good health, especially if the mother has suffered health problems during pregnancy. There is also marked relief in the cases of older women giving birth - these

mothers are thought to be less physically strong and more prone to such things as high blood pressure and exhaustion.

Generally, a new mother will be in hospital for only two or three days after her child is born. Only the father, the grandparents of the new child, and perhaps a close friend or siblings of the mother will visit her in hospital. Often they will try to time their visits so that the mother is not exhausted or overwhelmed by their number. It is expected that the mother will be tired and will need time to "bond" with her baby.

FETING THE NEW-BORN

Large, basic, expensive pieces of equipment are bought by the child's grandparents often in advance of the baby's arrival, demonstrating the significance of the birth to the grandparents' family and demonstrating on-going financial support of the young couple. Elspeth received a cot from one sister-in-law, a crib from another sister-in-law, and a buggy and pram from the grandparents.

The new mother and father's siblings are also expected to donate fairly expensive presents or money. Close friends and bridesmaids of the new mother will give less expensive but significant presents, such as pieces of clothing, or a large cuddly toy.

When my close friend's daughter was born I spent twice the amount of money on her child as I would normally spend on friend's child. I was both very fond of the mother and was aware that it was almost expected of me as her close friend.

Over a period of several months the mother plays host to visiting relations, friends and neighbours who have all come to see the baby and give him/her a present. In many respects this 'ceremony' is similar to the occasion of the presentation of wedding gifts at the fiancée's mother's house. Then people come in the three weeks prior to the wedding, dressed in good, clean, smart clothes with a wedding gift; they are expected and warmly received; in return for their wedding gift they are given tea and fancy cakes and are also given a personal 'guided tour' of all the

wedding gifts by the bride-to-be. It is almost always only women who go to the wedding house with a gift.

Similarly, it is almost always women who visit the mother and child. They come smart and cleanly dressed, though there is less formality in visiting only the mother and child, for a wedding house is a symbol of not only the bride but her parents and relatives too, whereas the new mother's home is symbolic largely of a new, smaller family: the child (-ren) and parents.

It is considered thoughtful if a visitor phones the new mother to ask if she can visit on a certain day, specifying morning or afternoon.

If it is a cousin whom you are going to visit it is common to pair up with another cousin to go visiting. The occasion is informal and is treated as a family news 'catching-up' session. I went with my cousin Rena to visit our cousin Hazel who had just had a second baby. We first visited Hazel's mother because we felt we knew our aunt better than our cousin, then later we visited Hazel's sister-in-law.

Giving a baby present can be an important occasion for relatives to meet, especially when they live miles apart and generally see each other only at more formal gatherings such as at weddings or funerals.

In indirect exchange for the gift the guest is shown the child and, if s/he is awake, visitors are allowed to hold the baby. The visitor will praise the baby as "bonny". Perhaps the most important remarks are ones that liken the child to his/her parents or relatives. The child is most often likened to a parent or grandparent when s/he was young. Recalling family relationships is particularly enjoyed.

It is common for single female relatives to visit their newly born relatives: Michelle said her husband's aunt's teenage daughters came to visit the new baby every day and had even taken it for a walk. Thus the young girls learnt how to handle a young child. There is often a sense of shared experience, a kind of 'bonding' (which the mother is also said to experience with her new child) between women who have become mothers, which I found enviable. If I should admire them as mothers they would

sympathetically tease and perhaps reassure me that no doubt I would (get married and) have children too.

I was much less confident than the new mother or other mothers in handling the new child. Having grown up away from a family of female cousins who had children I was unused to handling the child as my female cousins did. I watched other mothers confidently making noises, pulling faces and generally playing with the new-born babies. I also saw that in some cases adolescents or youngsters were more experienced in dealing with a baby than I. This I felt was embarrassing and I felt my femaleness had been questioned by not being as able as the other women. My experiences to some extent probably reflect those of other childless women in the community.

THE INVOLVEMENT OF GRANDMOTHERS

(The involvement of grandmothers with their daughters (-in-law) and grandchildren is discussed more fully in **WOMEN AND FAMILY NETWORKS**).

Grandmothers are extremely important in providing support of a practical and emotional nature to both mother and baby, especially given the father's often lengthy absences at sea. Patterns of influence are established prior to the birth when the grandmother-to-be provides advice and helps a daughter plan for the baby's arrival.

The grandmother is also present at the time of the birth, if the father is absent, and her intimate involvement in and support of the everyday life of the mother and new-born baby establishes a pattern of support for the future.

However, just as a woman often tries to establish her independence from her mother when she marries she will often try to resist too much direction from her mother in how she handles her new baby. This resistance to her mother is particularly evident upon the birth of her first child when the new mother is developing her new role; resistance often lessens in later births once the new mother has confidence in her parenting skills and once she feels her mother respects her ultimate authority as parent of the child.

Amanda describes her experience of family support when her first child was born.

AW: .. They were aye roon aboot, offerin advice an feedin an things like at, ken. They come roon aa the time (TR.44, AW).

On another occasion Amanda said that she was glad that she lived in a different village from her mother: she wanted to cope on her own. Amanda was determined to not to be compromised by her mother's 'interference'.

Amanda later seemed to expect praise for coping with less help than others from her mother.

Nancy, who married into the fishing community, was also very independent and rejected her mother-in-law's help.

GM: .. Did ye get help fae yer mither-in-laa?

NS: Nae really .. I wis as determined I wis gaan ti dee it masel. Which wis the wrang thing really, lookin back. But at the time, first mums think, "I can do this" (TR.78, NS).

Some women are very "tied" to their mothers and do not feel their independence and abilities are undermined by their mothers' involvement in caring for a new baby. For example, Brenda relied heavily on her mother's support when her first child was born. The child, a boy called Ian (after his father) developed jaundice at birth and so Brenda had this added worry. Her mother drove several miles each day to help her daughter. The child's other grandmother did not feel as welcome, feeling less at liberty to offer her help: she said she had not been to visit as often as she might because Brenda had her mother with her and her child all of the time.

The 'excluded' grandmother recognised the special relationship between a mother and daughter/son and that this may have an influence on the development of the grandchild's relationship

with her/his grandparents. In the absence of the father, the mother's main source of support is her mother.

The belief that the female's mother is closer to and has more influence over her daughter and grandchildren appeared on several occasions: for example, when Stella's son Jack was to marry Jan Stella said that, if asked, she would offer advice and help Jan plan the wedding if asked for her opinion, but otherwise Stella did not want to 'interfere'. Stella added that her role was the reverse when Stella's own daughter got married.

Both sets of grandparents have, in principal, equal access and equal rights to a new grandchild. Grandmothers know, however, that the mother has special loyalties to her own mother and that therefore the father's mother is likely to be less emotionally close to the mother and child.

When Stella and John's daughter-in-law Jan gave birth to her first child Stella and John went to visit them in hospital. Jan's mother Esme was already there and when Stella and John went to pick up their grandchild Esme snatched the child and rebuked them that they already had a grandchild from their daughter: this grandchild was therefore Esme's. Her identification with the child was total: she, acting like a parent, would buy him everything he ever needed, she said. Esme claimed she had been the first person to see and touch the baby boy when he was born: she had special rights to the grandchild.

Stella was horrified. Jan, Stella later complained, said nothing, as if supporting her mother's behaviour. Esme, Stella concluded, 'took far too much to do with' the couple and their child, and compromised their independence.

The child's father, Jack, had been present at the scene and had said nothing: he was helpless, said Stella, in his mother-in-law and wife's hands. This example shows how a father's influence over his child can be, unusually, less than that of the maternal grandmother.

However when a grandmother fails to provide her daughter and her family with enough support this is also viewed very seriously by the daughter and by the community. Linda constantly complained that neither did she see her mum often enough

(sometimes not for several weeks), nor had her mother much patience for her grandchildren.

Linda says that her mother-in-law is a great source of practical help but she cannot help feeling hurt at her own mother's lack of involvement and support. However, when Linda had serious health problems her mother stayed with her to look after her daughter and grandchildren.

Just as the maternal grandmother can be criticised for over- or under- involvement so can the paternal grandparents be criticised of over- or under- involvement with the grandchild.

Amanda regularly complained about how seldom her in-laws visited their grandson and how little money they spent on him. Similarly, although Martina's in-laws privately criticised Martina's mother for being over involved, Martina criticised her mother-in-law for her lack of involvement: neither Martina's mother-in-law nor Martina's sisters-in-law visited her regularly. Martina said her father-in-law did visit but this was clearly less important to Martina than the lack of involvement of her mother-in-law (see chapter on **WOMEN AND FAMILY NETWORKS**).

MOTHERING ROUTINES

Motherhood brings a new set of priorities for a woman. Amanda told me she was glad her first child was now at school because she spent all of her time feeding and changing her baby daughter, and sterilising her milk bottles. Sometimes I visited Amanda at lunchtimes to find she was still in her nightwear, having spent the morning caring for her daughter. Amanda expressed her embarrassment at this and laughingly explained how busy she had been.

Although aware that her previous standards of dress and housework were now lower she knew that this was 'normal' for women with new-born children.

Natalie also commented on the re-prioritisation that a mother is forced to undertake once a child is born: her husband became a second, not first priority, and he is expected to be more independent of his wife. Natalie's housework standards also altered so that instead of having too much time to do things she

had barely enough. Although this caused her anxiety she also felt anxious when she was childless and had too much time for housework.

CHILDREN, HYGIENE AND DIRT

Cleanliness of the home and family is essential, demonstrating the mother's devotion and moral responsibility to the family. Mothers constantly try to keep the child looking clean by replacing clothes frequently and washing and bathing the children. Thus women's moral reputations depend as heavily on the physical care of their children as on their housework standards.

Children, both boys and girls, are encouraged to keep themselves clean and to internalise their mothers' cleanliness standards.

Edna, an incomer, sent her child to a local Sunday school. When Edna then encouraged her daughter to go outside and play in her Sunday clothes her daughter refused, saying that God wouldn't love her any more if she dirtied her clothes.

Amanda laughed when her three year old son, Gavin, was revolted by a dirty mark on his shoe; and Linda praised her niece's daughter for being so "parteeclar" in her eating habits. Betty, whose eldest son was twenty-one, and was still living at home, always seemed very stressed if I visited her on a Monday. She would complain about the amount of washing she had just done and the amount of ironing she had to do. She would sometimes show me her clothes horse, drying cupboard and loft, which would all be full of her son's drying clothes. She once told me that her son had complained that his 'good' trousers did not have a strong enough crease in them: she blamed herself for teaching him so strictly about the importance of appearances. Women set their own standards and are, ironically, judged by their children and husbands.

COUNTRY OBSERVATIONS ON CHILDREN AND MESS

Tom, a local farmer who lives two miles from Balnamara, said of fisher homes:

TF: .. a lot o hooses werenae lived in .. the kids were inclined ti live in ither folks' hooses .. certain hooses were jist showhooses (TF, Track A).

TF: ... The fisher faimily are nae allowed ti play as we played in i hoose [in the country]. On a coorse day, ken, the hoose wis jist a redd up. Bit they're nae allowed ti dee at, ken, they've ti gwa oot an ging inti somebody else's hoose an mak a redd up. It's usually an aaler body ['s hoose] (TF, Track A).

I partly disagree with Tom's comments. It is true that certain houses always seem to contain the neighbourhood's children: this is not a question of female fastidiousness but may be due to a number of other reasons, including: enjoying entertaining others' children; and the popularity and geographical centrality of the child to other children.

Children never seemed to be 'put out' to other mothers' homes so that other mothers would have to clean up the mess. Women feel very responsible and proud of their abilities to cope alone with their children; and they feel obligated to share responsibilities equally with other women.

THE PUBLIC SHOWING OF THE NEW BABY

Cleanliness and aesthetic beauty in a child's surroundings are part of his/her first public appearance.

A week or two after Amanda's second child was born she arrived at my door with her pram and asked if I'd like to go for a walk with her and her new baby daughter. Amanda was smiling and had dressed well because this was the child's first public showing. She wheeled a new pram, given by her mother; and the baby's clothes, pram and covers were immaculately clean and new. The baby's coverings were white, pink and lacey, indicating the sex of the baby. However the pram was decorated in a new fabric that had both pink and blue in it, and was one of the latest pram cover designs.

The women especially whom we met were delighted to get a glimpse of the child. Comments were made on her size - Amanda

said her son had been "little" too, like his relatives. The description "little" by onlookers was as much an expression of their protective, 'motherly feelings' as it described the baby's size.

Often the phrase "smaa craitur" was used to indicate size and degree of personal tenderness towards the baby. The child was likened to her brother and to various relatives, including her grandfather, now deceased. Such a description was an indication of the importance of family.

Amanda offered me a chance to push the pram. This left me feeling embarrassed as I felt I was an image of a childless woman who hoped for a child like the one I pushed. Once or twice the comment "Ee're nursin i day" was made to me, indicating approval.

When Amanda's husband came home I saw them pass my door, father, mother, young son and new baby, off for a walk with the pram.

This is the baby's introduction to the community. The baby's birth is an addition to the community as well as to the individual family.

WALKS WITH THE PRAM

In the summer it is common to see several mums out pushing prams round the connecting approach roads into the village.

This practice stops once the child no longer needs a pram and they start attending the Mothers and Toddlers Group.

Mothers seldom go out walking early in the day: they are expected to be doing housework and tending to the child.

Meeting a mother and baby is an occasion to praise the child and to catch up on personal news and local gossip.

A mother likes to have her child and the pram admired as this is praise of her skills as both a mother and a housewife.

Her almost total responsibility for the child is reflected in the decoration of child and pram. White silk trimmed with lace is a favourite fabric, echoing feminine house interior furnishings. Stitching or piping in blue or pink is also thought to be "affa bonny".

Various trends come and go in pram adornments, such as embroidered cushions, quilt covers or small hanging silk hearts with the baby's name stitched on for all to read. This reflects similar practices and ideas in the decoration of the home. Through physical appearances the mother creates an image of the 'perfect' baby, thus demonstrating her ability as a mother (and as a housewife).

COPING WITH A NEW BABY

Creating a successful image of the perfect baby probably helps the mother to feel able and confident in her motherhood role. Women who were mothers for the first time generally showed much confidence publicly in the way they handled the child. This confidence probably arose from their pleasure in their new role, from having ultimate responsibility for the child and from having had early childhood exposure to babies. Women are expected to enjoy motherhood and there is pressure to be a good or perfect mother and to cope with the new role. When I asked my cousin's wife how easy it had been to cope with a new baby she said that you 'jist hid ti manage'. The 'have to manage' attitude is reminiscent of the 'have to accept' attitude which women and men use to explain their lifestyle generally, and may reflect a stoic acceptance of tradition and life-cycle experiences.

WOMEN'S HEALTH AFTER CHILDBIRTH

A new mother's relatives will help her in the first few weeks of motherhood with housework and child-care. The new mother is expected to be tired. More serious health problems are less expected and reactions to these are instructive. Brigid suffered depression after the birth of an unplanned child. It was later diagnosed as 'post-natal depression'. Mental health problems are generally known as 'bein buthert wi yer nerves'. The expression hardly seems to indicate a real sense of seriousness or gravity. In Whalsay, it is always referred to as 'haein trouble wi da nerves' (A.P. Cohen, personal communication). This Whalsay expression too seems to have a

levity that hardly admits the more serious connotations of 'depression', although the expressions may carry more gravity in local dialects.

The understatement in 'buthert wi yer nerves' may reflect the general attitude of having to cope or accept situations which are difficult; or the understatement may represent public avoidance of admitting such problems exist as they can threaten to undermine family life as well as the life of the community.

I heard of Brigid's illness through gossip and asked a relative, Annette, if the gossip was true. Relatives are usually informed of serious family problems such as depression.

My relative reacted to Brigid's illness with embarrassment and incomprehension. Annette didn't call Brigid's depression post-natal depression; she simply felt that Brigid was not coping and was depressed. Annette felt sorry for Brigid, but felt it was up to Brigid to do something about it.

Brigid said she felt fine when her husband was at home but as soon as he left she felt she couldn't cope, despite having brought up two children to their teens. Her concern was for her husband and the burden her illness put on him: her husband had to go to sea, she said, he couldn't let his business suffer.

Interestingly, I had interviewed Brigid's husband, Sandy, more than a year before and had asked him what he thought were good and bad qualities in a fisherman's wife. He identified independence and not being 'buthert wi their nerves', as this has a knock-on effect on the husband and his fellow crewmen (TR.162-3, SG).

He added:

SG: Bit ee've jist ti try an sympathise wi them, fit's happenin. Bit it's a problem thit they've ti work oot for themsels, I canna really hae onythin ti dee wi that. That's their ain faimily affairs" (TR.163, SG).

Sandy was tested twice the following year on his views about family problems among the crew. On one occasion a crewman had an extra-marital affair and Sandy became heavily involved in

counselling him and in providing support for the husband and wife. The second occasion was when Brigid had post-natal depression.

In Balnamara the prevailing attitude is to 'accept' things and 'to get on with it'.

Brigid said afterwards that she had had no role, other than as a mother and housewife, and this led to a lack of self-esteem and confidence. Sandy agreed with her and encouraged Brigid to take up new hobbies.

Brigid knew that her condition was regarded socially and within the family as a weakness that caused her family social embarrassment, no matter how much they understood and sympathised with her: she was not coping in the way that Balnamara fishermen's wives are expected to cope. This left her feeling guilty and did not help her to feel better.

Men and women are expected to 'cope' and to 'accept' stress as it is seen as unavoidable. Personal problems are not for public consumption and often are scarcely for discussion among family or close friends (TR.23, AW).

Anna suggests that younger people's attitudes are changing: they are beginning to question why women and men have to accept traditional attitudes and beliefs about choices of livelihood and lifestyle.

A HUSBAND'S SUPPORT OF HIS ILL WIFE

When Brigid was ill Sandy became very concerned for her so took on several of Brigid's housework and child-care roles. (He also spoke seriously of leaving the fishing to work ashore, if this would help his wife). Female relatives all offered practical and emotional support. They helped him do housework and invited Sandy and his family to Sunday lunch.

Sandy fielded enquiries about his wife with honesty and sympathy. Instead of being the young skipper whom many envied he was seen as a young husband trying to help his wife and family. Everyone was concerned about Brigid: she was popular. People were aware that a health problem could so easily threaten the existence of a family and the crew and families of an

entire fishing boat. Brigid's illness also showed how a man's success as a fisherman depends on his wife's ability to cope ashore.

There was much male and female interest in how Sandy supported his wife, and in how he balanced his considerable responsibilities as a skipper and employer of ten men with his concern for his wife and family. Men were concerned about the future of his fishing enterprise while women were interested in how he supported his wife.

AFTERMATH

Brigid's illness was an opportunity for women to discuss their own and other local women's experiences of the 'baby blues', although all said they were fine now, perhaps wanting to be seen as 'coping'. Depression, they inferred, was common, but it was not rightly a persistent or ongoing condition; they reasserted that a woman had to 'cope'. To be continually depressed would put an unbearable strain on the family.

One local mother, Tina, was spoken of with sympathy: her depression lasted several months after her first and second pregnancies. Brigid visited Tina, feeling that perhaps they could offer each other emotional support. However Tina's family was expected to support and care for her, as was the local doctor. Her mental illness was thought to embarrass her family and so open discussion and support was seen as inappropriate.

A relative of Brigid's said that he was shocked by how emaciated Brigid was but was not surprised that Brigid was depressed as it 'ran in the family'.

Women in Balnamara talk about depression among villagers as if it is an irregular occurrence and is a short-term condition: these public assertions perhaps help women to cope with some forms of the illness.

STRESS

Balnamara people do not class the negative feelings that they experience as fishermen's wives, and especially as single parents, as "depression" per se. They describe it as 'feelin doon', which

they regard as manageable, for they should be publicly seen to be 'coping'. The pressure to be seen to be coping in itself probably exacerbates stress.

Women in Balnamara say that the most stressful factor in their lives is having to be a single parent all week. Although many women get support with child-care from their mothers (in-law) they still have the final responsibility for their children.

I marvelled at Anna's patience with her children but she said there were two occasions when she felt so stressed and 'funny' that she wondered if she was on the verge of a nervous breakdown.

Anna suffered mood swings and depression when her first child was born. She now feels shocked by her memories of 'hatred' for her husband whom she blamed for leaving her to cope with a new child. However Anna thinks her problems were hormonally- as well as emotionally-based.

She also frequently complains that her mother doesn't support her enough by baby-sitting and sometimes says she is going to (laughing) either run away, or 'book herself into a health club for a weekend and leave her children behind'.

At other times she talks about feeling "fed up" or said that she wanted to "rin awa an leave em" (the children).

Having a child can, paradoxically, leave the mother feeling lonely and incapable.

GM: Div ye get lonely wi jist the kids for company durin the week?

NS: .. When I had Sandra I found it wis really lonely. Stuck all day wi this little baby an nobody ti see all day. I found that really difficult (TR.78, NS).

Nancy says she was "stuck" with the baby - this suggests she felt trapped, even though she had chosen to have the baby. These feelings are echoed by Anna above, suggesting that the transition to motherhood is not as easy as 'ideal' images of children and prams suggest.

Nancy married into a fishing family from an urban background and so missed her own family. Also, Nancy gave up her job to have a child and so felt further isolated. Local women would assume that Nancy, an incomer, would have the support of her in-laws; and locals would not wish to 'interfere,' so would find it harder to visit Nancy and her new baby than they would a local mum.

Women also say that having to balance child-care with housework responsibilities is very stressful. Both tasks are inter-related and often there is no clear separation of tasks or permanent level of achievement to give a sense of satisfaction (Oakley, 1974).

COPING WITH STRESS

One of the remedies Anna employs to counter feelings of loneliness is to work hard at keeping her house and children clean and 'in good order': "if I'm busy I'm nae si lonely" (TR.22, AW). 'Hard work' occupies her time and mind and perhaps reduces the stress of coping as a lone parent. Hard work, of course, is stressful and Anna also finds housework and child-care boring. By setting herself such high standards of house and child-care she ironically increases the chances of feeling bored and stressed.

Her remedy to boredom and the stress of housework and child-care is to seek the company of other adults (TR.22, AW).

Visitors are most likely to be other fisherwomen, especially her mother, best friends and sisters or sisters-in-law who bring their children to escape the boredom of their own routines.

Anna, who now has two children, still can feel stressed when caring all day, every day, for her children. I have seen Anna look and act completely unruffled when her son has taken a temper tantrum; conversely, I have seen Anna 'snap'.

I asked Nancy:

GM: How di ye cope wi stress an at?

NS: Scream! (Laughs.) Shoutin! (Laughs.) I shout at them (TR.82, NS).

The pressure of being like a single parent all week and of maintaining standards of apparent perfection as a mother is highly stressful and thus a woman looks for support from other women in a similar, sympathetic position.

ONGOING FEMALE SUPPORT

Anna finds that she gets most support from her parents and friends; her in-laws are too elderly and live too far away to help (TR.26, AW).

However Anna does occasionally express resentment that her mother-in-law does not seem more interested in her grandchildren. In-laws are expected to show equal support to that given by a female or male's parents. Amanda complained that her in-laws failed to give financial support to her husband (and thus to his family): this led to her expressing discontent with her in-laws generally.

Amanda particularly resented her mother-in-law ignoring her and her children because she expected her, as a female, to 'naturally' care about her son and family.

Amanda often voiced these complaints to her own mother, who then felt moved to compensate for Amanda's perceived loss by spending more time and money on Amanda's family.

Some women expect less from their in-laws. Natalie seldom mentions her mother-in-law. She gets no real practical or emotional assistance from her but does not seem to expect it.

Lesley, however, resented her mother-in-law 'ignoring' her grandchild, yet her mother-in-law felt afraid to 'interfere' since her daughter-in-law consulted her own mother so much.

Anna's mother provided little practical support: on some occasions, particularly when Anna needed a baby-sitter, Anna resented this.

Her mother, however, had a part-time, night-shift job and Anna recognised that her mother was often too tired to help her.

Anna's mother does, however, visit Anna and the children frequently, even though she has just come home from work and has had virtually no sleep. She seems to visit at least once a day. Anna, I think, shares her immediate and sometimes long-term

plans and worries about her children and husband with her mother; I sometimes would catch the tail-end of such conversations. Conversely, there are things Anna shared with her closest friends that she doesn't share with her mother: details of Anna's relationships were often not passed on to her mother, particularly details of Anna's sexual life, her attitudes towards sexual and religious matters, and Anna's personal ambitions, which often contradict local expectations of women. This was because Anna knows her opinions differ from those of her mother, and that her mother and father are concerned to maintain social appearances.

There is unspoken recognition among the women that they support each other emotionally while their men are at sea.

GM: How div ye keep in touch wi yer pals .. if ye've got twa bairns an ye're mairriet?

AW: Well, a lot o them are in the same position as fit I am. Their men are at sea so there's time ti, ken, ti be fulfilled in, plenty time ti keep in touch wi yer freens.

Faar as, if yer man wis at hame aa the time, ye're busier (TR.17, AW).

I greatly enjoyed my friendships with local women, knowing that I could 'drop in' almost any time, several times a day; other friends did likewise, often bringing their children. Friends were the "adult company" which women needed to contrast with roles as mothers/family members/housewives. We talked about frustrations with our children/family and ourselves, and about our activities, feelings and plans.

A visit is often marked by having a coffee together or by sharing a meal. Mothers share the responsibility of getting all the children fed first.

Women feel a personal responsibility for the welfare of friends' children. If a friend's child visits on her/his own s/he might be fed or given a drink. Brigid's son's friend said he was hungry and Brigid plied him with food.

MANAGING PUBLIC IMAGES OF THE FAMILY

A mother can discuss her child's behavioural problems with a good friend but this information cannot be passed on to others or the behaviour be criticised by the listening mother. The listening mother can show sympathy and offer an explanation for the child's unusual behaviour, but it is never suggested that the child has a serious behaviour problem or is inherently bad - "coorse". Being able to discuss mutual feelings of stress with friends or mothers is vital for women's sense of being able to cope and of being normal. Women feel reassured that they are no less capable a mother than anyone else and that it is normal, not abnormal, to experience intense feelings of stress. Friends and female relatives give one another the support other women who see their partners daily.

I asked Nancy:

GM: Is it important ti hae freens .. thit ye cin speak about .. yer bairns till?

NS: No, nae in Balnamara, because very few people .. actually speak about their kids an what wrong they do .. I think a lot o them here mak oot they've the perfect family, the perfect kids, the perfect life.

GM: If ye gid in for a coffee wi Diane, ye widnae say ti Diane..?

NS: Ay, me an Diane wid. Bit a lot o the Balnamara girls widna .. (TR.82, NS).

Nancy, like Anna and Natalie, believes that she is unusual in sharing child-rearing problems with a friend, but they may be less atypical than they realise.

On the few occasions I went to playgroup events I would hear mothers make light-hearted complaints to other mothers that I thought indicated stress, but they didn't hold long, confessional conversations about the difficulties of motherhood: they maintained an appearance of coping.

GM: Fin ye're up at i playgroups an at, fit div ye speak aboot?

AW: .. I wid say mainly bairns, mainly bairns. An things thit's comin aff ti dee wi the playgroup.

GM: Div ye spik aboot the fishin an at?

AW: I dinna, I niver speak aboot the fishin .. nae intae nae depth (TR.18, AW).

Similarly, they did not share much personal information about feeling stressed because their husbands were away. They are expected to 'manage'. The surface nature of their conversations reflects those of crewmen while at sea (see **MEN'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH THEIR CHILDREN**).

THE EFFECTS OF MOTHERHOOD ON SPOUSES' RELATIONSHIPS

A husband's relationship with his wife changes with the arrival of a child. The child becomes the mother's main priority. This is true during the week when her husband is at sea and does not seem to change significantly when her husband is at home.

NN: Now, fin we wis jist new-mairriet he wis jist lik a big bairn. An in fact it wis ma ain fault for lettin him aff wi't .. If he wintit onything he jist hid ti whistle an he wid get it .. That days are changed.

.. Fin Francis wis born - there's one day I jist says til im [husband], "Now, I'm stoppin is, an I'm stoppin at, an I'm stoppin onything thit ee tak me for grantit for .. I'm nae gaan ti rin ahin yer backside ony langer.."

.. I laid doon ma rules an I stuck ti them. An he's really - he his changed drastically ti fit he wis (TR.55-56, NN).

Natalie adds:

NN: At times I'll dee for im [baby] fit I widnae dee for Willy [husband]. Bit at'll hae ti stop an aa becis I

widnae like him ti grow up ti be een o that kinna men
thit thinks a wife's place is in i hoose .. (TR.56, NN).

FATHERHOOD

I have less information on the experience of becoming a father. To marry and then become a father is socially construed as a male 'settling down', as him becoming stable or adult with responsibilities, and whose first priority is his family. This stability is reflected in his behaviour at work: he is less likely to change berths and will be a more responsible crewman.

SG: .. the mairriet lads is mair stable .. they widnae
shift their berths sae much becis they've faimilies ti
look efter .. (TR.157-8, SG).

A father's contribution to planning and caring for an expected child is often restricted to room and financial planning. This generally reflects the level and nature of his involvement later as the child grows up. His low level of involvement generally is typically explained by the fishing routine and his lack of time at home. However his level of support of child and wife is informed by beliefs about the naturalness of his involvement in child-care and housework.

For example, when Wilma, heavily pregnant, asked her husband to make all three of us a cup of tea he refused, implying that that was her job, regardless of her physical state. Wilma expected him to compromise and so refused to make the tea. When I offered to put the kettle on her husband grudgingly offered to make the tea. His wife then made a great fuss of him, praising his behaviour. She later explained:

WA: .. he disnae dee a lot roon aboot the hoose, nae
unless I'm ill or something lik at (laughs) .. cos he wid
think I wid be makin the feel o im, ken (WA, Tape 2,
Track A).

DISCIPLINING CHILDREN

Nancy commented that people in Balnamara make out that they have 'the perfect children'. This is perhaps clearest in parents' attitudes to who can criticise or discipline their children.

No-one, sometimes not even the child's father, could criticise a child in front of his/her mother without risking alienation. No-one apart from the child's immediate family (siblings, parents and sometimes grandparents, and aunts) could even mildly chastise the child.

Anna's son was, until he started to attend primary school, a child whose moods were unpredictable and occasionally extreme. One day, as his mother, Natalie and I exercised, he purposely kicked me. Natalie saw this but Anna did not. Anna took no action.

Natalie later was very angry and said that if the boy were hers she would have given him a good walloping.

Anna's children were watching TV, sweets scattered around them. Some had been stood on and squashed into Anna's light-coloured carpet. Natalie thought this wrong and immediately advised that she 'wouldn't stand for' such behaviour from children. Anna's children would, Natalie warned, take advantage of her and ruin her good carpets and furniture. Anna listened without a word, then began to gather up the spilled sweets. She began to shout uncharacteristically at the children, telling them she would end up in Cornhill (Aberdeen hospital for the mentally ill. This is a common threat women make to children).

However, Anna's children still eat food in the living room, so Natalie's advice, kindly meant, was ignored.

I was amazed that Natalie would offer what I thought Anna would interpret as criticism of Anna's parenting skills. But perhaps Anna and I were less surprised because Natalie is regularly outspoken.

Criticism of a child is taken as a personal criticism by the mother and is often met by anger. Anna was one day standing in a queue at the bank. Her son, wielding long plastic golf clubs, struck the arthritic legs of another customer. The woman cried out in pain, turned round and said angrily to him "Dinna you dee at again!" Anna said she looked astonished at the woman, then rounded on

her angrily, telling her that she had "nae business interfering with" Anna's child; just who did the woman think she was? Anna, by confronting the unknown woman, had broken with general rules of conduct in Balnamara: confrontation, especially with strangers, is avoided, especially by women, who care for their social reputations.

Anna expected sympathy for her son from her friends but later, during a phone call conversation, Natalie said to me that if the boy had struck her she would have grabbed the golf club and hit him back.

Styles of mothering are thought by some to be inherited. Bell, who had been Donita's best friend at school, said that, as children, Donita and her sister had been "wild". Donita's mother was said by several contemporaries to have lost control over her children.

On several occasions Tam said to his wife Anna that he was fed up of her mother "interfering" with (i.e. trying to discipline) their children. Occasionally I saw Anna verbally attack her mother when her mother was criticising a grandchild where at other times Anna would believe her mother was treating the child fairly.

Often Anna's parents would appeal to the children's mother (and sometimes father) to stop a child misbehaving; also they would act as seemingly impartial observers and raconteurs of particular mishaps between the children, refusing to get involved themselves.

At Sunday lunch when Eliza's children misbehaved it was usually their mother who scolded them; their grandmother would occasionally do so but her husband Jim seldom said anything. In a crisis, Eliza would say to her husband "Jim, speak ti at bairns". Eliza's husband was the 'final authority': a few grave words from him could reduce the oldest boy to tears when he would ignore a tirade from his mother. However Jim worked ashore and took part in the children's daily lives, unlike fishermen.

The grandmother Linda occasionally warned the boys that they should behave better. One day she refused them permission to play outside on the grass while wearing their Sunday clothes,

incase they got dirty. Eliza immediately over-rode her mother and told the children to go out and play. Linda was hurt and justified her decision by saying that she, as a child, only had one set of good clothes. Eliza retorted that "bairns is bairns" and they 'had to let off steam', thus asserting her power as a mother. Linda considers Eliza to be a good daughter and she regularly chastises Eliza if she does not agree with her. Linda was unused to Eliza contradicting her, and to having her influence over her grandchildren undermined.

Although often encouraging of a grandmother's involvement young women sometimes make comments that indicate resentment of grandparents' "interference". Natalie complained that her mother tried to stop her smacking her children, "Bit ye hiv till or they'd run wild!" Nancy commented that her mother-in-law was the same as Natalie's mother, "bit .. ye hiv ti control em".

Natalie's comment is particularly interesting because she often criticised her father for beating her and her sister and said she was glad her mother often intervened with a softer approach. Mothers greatly resent others' criticisms of their mothering skills and of their children as this compromises their independence and feeling that they are coping.

The image of the 'the perfect family, the perfect kids, the perfect life' (TR.82, NS) is a coping mechanism that encourages a mother to cope as a single parent.

FATHERS' ROLES IN DISCIPLINING THEIR CHILDREN

None of the women I interviewed said they used the children's father as a 'bogeyman' to get the children to behave better. None of the men I spoke to want to be a disciplinarian.

GM: Div you store up problems? Lik - div you say ti yer bairns, 'Jist you wait till yer father comes hame'?

AW: No, no I dinna. I dinna think I div onywey!
(Laughs) (TR.11-12, AW).

GM: Div you use John as a .. bogeyman, ken, for discipline an at?

NS: No.

GM: Ye niver say ti them, 'Wait till yer father comes hame'?

NS: No. Never! Because he's (laughs) he wid niver discipline them anyway! No .. he disbelieves in at completely. He disnae think it he shid be used as a means o discipline jist two days a week. He wid rather say ti me, "You discipline them" .. He his often said that. He disnae wint ti be comin home at a weeken an be smackin them. Cos that's the only time they see him (TR.79, NS).

Paul comments:

PA: .. Fin ee come hame, aa ye wint ti dee is be fine ti yer bairns, ken. Ye wid niver, eh, I niver iver really bring em up or nithing, ken. I'm nae strict wi them at aa, like. Jist really let em dee onything, ken. Bit they're excited, ee ken, for i weeken fin i men's comin hame .. So she's ti dee aa the discipline .. (TR.192-3, PA).

Fathers' involvement in disciplining and educating their children varies: although Nancy and Pam's husbands apparently take little or nothing to do with discipline Anna expects her husband to alleviate her feelings of stress by taking responsibility for and disciplining the children now and again.

Even so, Anna has several times in my company told her husband to stop threatening her children "like at". Tam will respond by explaining what he witnessed the offending child do (just as Anna's mother sometimes does) but he does not assert an equal right to discipline their children. Women may often claim total authority and power in deciding how a child should be treated. It is this power which fishermen are often aware of; this can increase their sense of powerlessness in the home and increase their regret at being parted from their families so much.

In situations with Anna and Tam I have felt that Anna would defend her children before she would defend her husband or any other adult. Although Anna claims that, when her husband is at home, he is equally involved in looking after the children ("fifty-fifty" she calls it) she still at times claims the right to discipline their children.

Nancy's statement (above) amounts to the same, although she says her husband chooses ("He'll say ti me...") that Nancy alone should discipline the children.

Above, Anna occasionally asks her husband to take the parental responsibility of disciplining their children: it eases the stress for her of total responsibility for the children. The situation can therefore be a difficult one of deciding when one wants to assume or demit responsibility for disciplining children, in view of protecting one's long term 'rights' or influence. A woman, by assuming sole right at times to discipline the children, may inadvertently increase the stress she feels as a lone parent with sole responsibility for disciplining the children.

CHILDREN'S IMAGES OF MOTHERS AND FATHERS

I asked Nancy if she thought that her children had an idealised view of their father, because he did not take part in disciplining his children.

NS: Ay, I think so. Mhm.

GM: How do you feel about that?

NS: .. Ay, like, 'Mum's the big baddie'?! (Laughs) ..

Sometimes .. it wid aggravate ma because he seems ti be 'all good' an I can sometimes be 'all bad'. Bit ye see, ti me that's jist the role thit's happened. It canna be any ither way, I suppose, wi me in charge o them. I'm like a single parent all week (TR.81, NS).

Again, Nancy accepts her role as disciplinarian of their children, rationalising it as inevitable, given her husband's occupation. Interestingly, when I asked mothers if they thought they as women had stronger bonds with their children than other

mothers whose husbands came home every night I got different answers:

AW: No, I widnae think so. It's nae something I've really thocht aboot .. Maist mithers hiv their bairns aa day onywey, so the only difference, I wid say, is thit they've got their dads at hame as weel as their mams. I dinna think i bonds wid be ony stronger. An I dinna think the bonds wid be ony the less wi the dad either becis he's nae there aa week. Like my bairns - especially Alasdair, he's mair for his dad thin [for me]. I'm the een thit's been there aa the time (TR.20-21, AW).

Nancy however, said:

NS: Probably ... I think maybe stronger becis ye've ti rely on yerself aa the time. You've ti make every decision for at kids, all week .. in at sense, ye're a lot stronger (TR.81, NS).

Anna may have been defending her husband's absence at sea: she is very interested in psychology and the balance of power in relationships and she wants to feel that her marriage is "fifty-fifty".

Nancy's opinion as an incomer is based on comparing her and her husband's relationships with their children with that of her parents and her siblings, whereas Anna has no such frame of comparison.

FATHERS' RELATIONSHIPS WITH THEIR CHILDREN

Fishing routines have changed for some fishermen to allow them more time at home and greater male involvement in housework and child-care. New media models of more involved husbands and fathers have also perhaps influenced fishermen.

Men who are now grandfathers claim that they were never at home long enough to get practically involved in child-care:

HW: Fin the faimily wis young we jist hidnae much time ti spen on them at aa. At's ae thing we did miss oot on..

.. I've mair time wi the grandchildren than fitiver I've heen wi ma own (HW, p.7 of transcript).

But older fishermen also then believed that such involvement with children was not appropriate male behaviour. Although grandfathers now may appreciate more involved roles with their grandchildren some criticise over-involvement of young fathers. John was criticised by his father-in-law for playing too much with his children and for being too responsive to their needs.

Perhaps the motive behind this criticism is envy, or perhaps the father-in-law dislikes seeing his grandchild upset when the father goes to sea on a Sunday night.

The grandparent is permitted a more emotionally indulgent role than the father who perhaps should be more emotionally and practically removed so as not to cause hurt by being away from his child (-ren) so often.

I asked a young mother about her husband's relationship with his children:

GM: .. Di ye think he misses i bairns?

NS: Oh, definitely. He often says he misses out a lot on them. Well, it upsets him fin he goes away on a Sunday night. Ken, he goes through an gives them kiss an looks at them. It's bound ti. Ken, ye're gin away an leavin them a hale week. They change si much ... (TR.79, NS).

At the Sunday dinner table Sandy said he hoped he might, because of bad weather, get an extra day at home with his wife and children. His wife's uncle, a retired skipper, gently upbraided him for not putting his boat responsibilities first. Skippers' commitment should be to getting back to sea (c.f. Cohen, 1987, p.155).

Paul said that after spending his holidays with his family he missed them when he went back to sea.

However by seeing them regularly at weekends, and by accepting the routine, he can cope with the separation:

PA: .. I widnae really say I miss em like, no. Becis fin ee come hame on a Friday or a Seterday it's prime time, ken, cos ye're wi them aa the time, ken .. Bit it's a wey o life" (TR.172, PA).

Paul displays the same attitude of acceptance which women show. Some men seem more practically involved with their children: but despite changes women still have final responsibility for the child's care. On a visit to see Martina, her husband and their first baby the father said "I'll tak im" when Martina said the baby was hungry. Martina interpreted the baby's needs, organised the food and helped her husband sit in an appropriate position to feed the baby.

Some indication is given above of the father's role in relation to his family: he is the breadwinner who comes home more to indulge his children rather than to discipline them. However over-indulgence by a father of a child is criticised by older generations of men and may also be criticised by women who are eager to educate the child properly.

SO WHO IS BOSS OVER THE CHILDREN?

Men's contributions to educating and disciplining their children vary.

Willy, who, like Paul, also fished from Sunday night until Saturday morning seemed more interested in taking part in educating, disciplining and taking general care of his children. He seemed to regret being away from home so much because this undermined his role as a parent.

GM: .. So faa's view wid kinna rule as far's the bairns goes?

WN: Well, she's at hame wi them maist o the time, isn't she? So she's gin ti hae the maist influence on them. Simple as that (TR.131, WN).

His wife said in an earlier interview:

NN: .. Ye're really like a single parent .. they're awa aa the time, the men. An ee've ti run i hoose an look efter i bairns .. An is person comin hame at the weeken, giein you orders as ti how ti rin things, an at dis not gi doon well at aa, ti say the least!" (TR.61, NN).

Natalie describes her husband, and, by inference, other fishermen fathers, as "is person", suggesting a sense of distance between the mother, children and father.

Natalie would seem to guard her influence over her children.

This may arise from a perception that housework and child-care are her two main areas of influence in their marriage. In the past he has not consulted her in house moves and has expressed disapproval of her working outside the home.

Thus, although women are perhaps bound to be more associated with her children because she is the primary carer, the father's role may increase if he wants it to and if there is flexibility generally in other areas of the couple's marriage.

Natalie's self-description as a "single parent" does not suggest she regrets her situation: it seems to indicate that she is aware of the independence and influence it gives her.

However, regardless of how much Natalie claims independence, her husband continues to challenge her when he disagrees with her. How to bring up children is, Natalie says, the most controversial area of their relationship.

NN: .. If we hae arguments, it's becis o the bairns - things thit I've geen the bairns or deen - lettin the bairns aff wi - thit he thinks isnae right. Thit I'm far too lenient wi them, thit I'm nae punishin em enough

for things. Noo, I feel thit I am. It's nae fine if ee've got somebody comin in an interferin wi ye. So! (TR.62, NN).

Some of Billy's efforts to parent his children are deemed "interferin wi ye" by his wife.

Billy's resentment of Natalie's strong influence on their children in part arises from his feelings of insecurity about their marriage. Natalie frequently told me that she is now a totally different person compared to when she married Billy and that the birth of her children caused her to re-prioritise her roles and assert her own opinions.

Many women have similarly claimed that having children changed them quite markedly. Whereas they accepted that the wage earner had most influence regarding income and decisions when they were newly married, after becoming a mother they sought an equal say and power within the relationship.

Women are aware of how their husbands regret having to leave them and the children to go to work; so perhaps some women see their greater control over their children and their almost exclusive sphere of influence as a bargaining tool and as a reason to be more confident within the marriage and within themselves. Whereas upon marriage women indulge their husbands and accept their authority they later become more assertive and focused on the children.

One of the major difficulties in Natalie and Billy's relationship was their different attitudes to the place of Christianity in how they lived their lives and brought up their children. Billy had strong Christian-based views on how his wife should behave and on how their children should be brought up.

On one occasion his Christian views led him to give up a job on a high-earning fishing boat which landed some illegal fish. Natalie disregarded his religious and personal morals and beliefs and threatened that she and the kids would leave him if he didn't ask for his berth back: he was denying them a secure income, as well as offending her, his friends and their children's friends. Not

only was he cutting off the family's income, he was also potentially ruining friendships in two generations.

Natalie admits that most fishermen's wives would not have taken such an uncompromising stance in what is generally regarded as areas of male influence and power: wage-earning and religious beliefs.

Natalie added:

NN: So he hid ti tik his tail between his legs an dee fit he wis tellt (TR.61, NN).

On another occasion Natalie said that if Billy died in a boat accident she would manage fine on her own with her children but she would miss his wages. But then, she said, she would get life assurance money.

However women also recognise the powerful bonds between fathers and children.

During an argument between the parents about the right of the father to be, in Anna's opinion, too severe on his son, Tam threatened to leave home. Anna encouraged him, saying the kids wouldn't stay with him. Tam replied quietly that "she widnae, bit he wid".

On another occasion, Natalie told her husband that she was going to leave him. Natalie assumed her children would go with her, but her son appeared with his bag packed and announced that he was going with his dad. Natalie told this story with some delight in her own foolishness.

Fishermen at sea for such long periods probably do admire, support and yet, to some extent, fear their wives' independence. Many fishermen have private life assurance policies so they know that their wives and children will always have financial support if the men should die.

MEN'S EXPERIENCES OF FATHERHOOD

Men I spoke to felt pulled emotionally and psychologically between the need to earn a wage and the wish to be at home with their wives and children.

GM: So ye miss yer wife an faimily fin ye're at i sea, div ye?

BN: Oh ay, ay. Lots o times. I mean, ye gwa on a Sunday night an ye're jist nae on for't at aa. Ye'd jist raither bide at hame. An i hale week ye think, "Och well, at's anither day in". An ye're wishin yer life awa sometimes, like .. ye're jist kinna wytin for the en o the week, like (TR.128, BN).

Another fisherman described the weekend as "prime time" when he focused on his wife, children, and parents. He added that there was a scarcity of crewmen but that Balnamara fishermen were much more "steady" than other fishermen "cis the [Balnamara] lads likes hame the weeken .." (TR.186, PA).

One local woman said that the reason Balnamara fishermen had not moved to live in Fraserburgh where their boats are kept is because they enjoy having a 'regular' family life. Religious pressure in Balnamara not to work on the Sabbath has been stronger and longer-lasting than in many other villages. Virtually all Balnamara boats come home at weekends.

Even purse crews from Balnamara come home if they can at weekends. If a purse crew has been away for two weeks their wives and girlfriends will tell you that they and the men are "hopin" the men will get home this weekend. Three weeks was generally the longest period of absence I noticed for purse fishermen.

Nancy's husband John is the mate on a white fish and prawn boat.

GM: .. Dis he phone lik ivery nicht?

NS: Ay, if he's within range he'll phone every day.

GM: Dis he speak ti the bairns on the phone?

NS: Ay. Ivery day! (laughs) They speak more ti him thin I do, I suppose, cos afore ye get two o them on ... (laughs) (TR.80, NS).

It is usually only crewmen who are share owners - in particular, the skipper and the mate - who use the Vodaphone or VHF radio to speak to their families.

White fish and prawn boats are often in range of telephone communication systems so that they can phone home whenever they like; however, purse boats fish in waters that are out of range of normal telephone systems and so the skipper or mate will 'shout' on the VHF frequency perhaps twice a day. His wife and children can hear him but they cannot answer.

When fishermen come ashore or are in a sales office they will often phone home. Crewmen generally phone from public pay phones in the Fisherman's Mission, from the kiosk or from the sales office. Because the calls are long distance the father generally asks the mother about their children rather than ask to speak to the children. On one occasion Tam was phoning from Shetland. As Anna chatted to Tam she called to her son that it was dad on the phone. Their son came rushing through. On another occasion the son would not stop watching TV. Anna excused their son, aware that her husband would be disappointed.

John speaks to his children every day on the boat's phone: he thinks frequency of contact is important.

Natalie's husband Billy occasionally writes to his children (I know of no other father doing this; he also writes poetry about and for his wife). In his letters he encourages them to behave and to work hard at school. He finishes his letters with the promise of coming home soon. Since he began working on an oil rig he has continued to write to his children and wife. He phones his wife every night, although the children are usually in bed.

It is important to Billy that his children look forward to seeing him as he does to seeing them.

GM: Fin ye come hame .. di ye find thit the bairns is lookin forward ti ye comin hame?

BN: Francis, he's quaiter kine, he disnae say aa that muckle, bit .. Fiona, she jist runs an jumps inti ma airms fin I come hame, ee see, ken. She likes ti see ma

hame. She's aye askin, ken, on a Saterdag night fin I pit er till er bed, "Div ye gwa ti the sea the morn?", ken, an, "Will ye be here the morn?" or fitiver, ken. She's niver wintin ye ti go, like.

Bit Francis disnae say a lot, although I wid imagine he feels i same, he jist disnae express his feelins, ken (TR.128, BN).

Billy's pride that his daughter loves him comes through in the expression, "ee see, ken". Her joy at seeing her father is obviously a dramatic outlet for his feelings about her and his family.

Billy does not think it unusual that his son is undemonstrative: young boys are not generally expected to show their feelings. Women help to keep the memory of the children's fathers strong. Anna would frequently say to her children "Faar's daddy?" or "Faar's yer dad?"

The children also regularly heard their mother discussing Tam's work with her parents and friends. In this way the children's memory of their father is kept alive.

Anna expressed her amazement and delight at how her children remembered their father, even at a very early age; she implied that it was natural for them to want to know their father.

GM: .. ye'd a thocht thit it wid've caased problems nitially maybe fin they were affa young, they widnae recognise him.

AW: Niver. Nae wi my two onywey. Bit fin Francis wis .. five month aal, Tam wis awa for a month solid. An fin he come hame the bairn wis six month aal .. I says till im, "He's nae gin ti recognise ye, he winna tak ti ye". Bit he did! He wis high as a kite aa that day. He sat in his bouncin cheer, his legs goin .. - he usually his a nap, ken, .. an he didnae need een at day, he wis as excited! (TR.21, AW).

If the fisherman is to arrive home late at night mothers tell their children, "Ye'll see im in i mornin" to prevent the children staying awake until late.

Often a fisherman's children will be asleep when he arrives home and will be asleep when he goes to sea: it is not surprising therefore that fishermen should want to see their children, even at the risk of waking them.

The children also miss their fathers:

GM: Do the kids miss im fin he giz awa on a Sunday?
An div they notice on a Monday?

NS: They ask ivery day, "When's dad comin home?" ..
Sandra often asks, "When's dad comin home?" She
asked today, in fact. Oh, they miss im.

GM: His she nae got inti the routine o't, like?

NS: Well, she always asks. An she's always told,
"Daddy'll be home on Saturday". An she sorta accepts
that (TR.80, NS).

Children are taught to accept that their father is away working and will be home probably at the weekend. Acceptance however does not stop the children feeling they miss their dads, or the wives their husbands, or the men their wives and children.

BN: .. eence ye're mairriet ye dinna wint ti go ti the
job .. Cis ye wint ti be at hame waatchin yer faimily
growin up, an be at hame wi yer wife .. (TR.128, BN).

Men suffer stress at being separated from their wives and children, just as women suffer stress at being like a single parent during the week. Men frequently talk about their children, about things the children have done and said, and about what they want to do with their families at weekends.

Serious problems are not discussed on the boat as there is social pressure to cope and to seem like the perfect family. Men also know that to talk about one's worries while away from home would de-motivate other crewmen.

Thus in many ways the men's world is very similar to that of women where they see fishing as a way of life and where they feel they have to accept their roles and cope with the stresses.

NS: .. he's jist home a day now. It's hard for i kids, they miss im .. I've acceptit it, I spose, I've jist accepted it's a way of life (TR.67-8, NS).

WOMEN'S INDEPENDENCE FROM THEIR CHILDREN

Children gradually learn to 'accept' the absence of a father for much of their childhood and see it as 'normal'.

Just as children learn to 'accept' their fathers' absence they think it 'normal' that their mother should always be there and that she will prioritise their needs above her own.

Several mothers one evening discussed their attempts to holiday with their husbands but without their children.

Natalie felt guilty at having left her son behind: he 'punished' her on her return by ignoring her. Nancy agreed that children do try to make a parent feel guilty if the child feels neglected. Alasdair seemed to know that his mother's wish to have time off from her children was disapproved of by her mother because he would 'act up' if he did not want her to leave him. Alasdair's outbursts fuelled Nancy's conviction that Anna should put her children first: Nancy claimed that she could not cope with her grandson's outbursts following his mother's departure.

However it is not only the children who make parents guilty: young mothers make each other feel guilty by projecting their own guilt. When Nancy announced that she and her husband were planning a weekend in London without their children Natalie and other young women were amazed. "Are ye nae takin i bairns?" someone said incredulously.

Brigid's husband booked a weekend break in Bath: they were to leave their two year-old daughter with Brigid's sister but Brigid worried about whether or not her daughter would "settle". Brigid seemed to want approval from me for putting herself, albeit temporarily, before her daughter and she also seemed to be

disclaiming responsibility for the decision by saying her husband, not her, had booked the holiday.

Nancy commented, "Isn't it terrible, I gave at bairns life an if I shid dee noo they widnae even mine on ma!"

Like the other women, Nancy describes herself as a "single parent". She gave up her paid job to have her children and her role as mother is the most important one she has. Her need to feel she has accomplished something major in her life - as a mother - depends upon her children's recognition of this.

Nancy's comment also shows an awareness of a suppression of her own needs to those of her children.

However women were proud that their children generally asked for their mothers when they needed comfort or support as this seemed like proof that they were the most important persons to their children.

Husbands feel that, as the main breadwinners, they are trapped by the demands of the job from taking greater care of their children to allow their wives more personal independence. Men do not generally disapprove of their wives establishing new interests; indeed many are very supportive of their wives' new interests; but husbands, like their wives, are concerned that their children are cared for.

Lack of support from young women's mothers is the greatest obstacle to young mothers establishing some independence of their roles as mothers, housewives and wives. Yet men feel they cannot intervene in mother-daughter relationships to support their wives' requests for maternal support.

If Anna asked her mother to babysit her children she had to answer numerous questions about the proposed outing with fellow young mothers. Her mother would enquire who was going to look after the other women's children, indicating her disapproval of the entire venture. Sometimes Anna did not ask her mother to babysit because, she said, she could not face a barrage of probing questions.

Anna was upset by her conflicting needs and roles. She would refuse to go to an event if she felt she was neglecting her children but she would say to her friends that she would go mad if she

didn't get away from her children, just for a while. Anna never, in my memory, directly 'blamed' her children for restricting her social movements: she turned her rage instead on her mother who was unsupportive.

Natalie and Amanda had no such trouble with their parents: they would tell their parents that they were going out, then ask if they could babysit. However Anna tended to ask if her parents would babysit before specifying where she was going.

Amanda several times expressed her sympathy for Anna whose mother seldom seemed to babysit. Amanda thought Nancy was conservative and wanted her daughter to be a 'traditional mother', putting her children's needs first always.

Because Natalie had always had her parents' support for her to get educational qualifications or a paid job she seemed to feel less resentful and less regretful of her situation as a married mother. Amanda's self-confidence increased by having a part-time job but because she felt she 'had' to work she occasionally expressed resentment of her mother's reminder that her mother made it possible for her to work by baby-sitting her children. Women know that if they rely a great deal on their mothers this, ironically, compromises their independence (see previous chapter).

Natalie and Anna showed more interest in going out socially with their friends than did others in the village. This, perhaps, reflects what I thought was their greater appetite for exposure to new ideas and opportunities, and their greater sociability among a wider network of friends outwith Balnamara itself.

They were well aware, however, of family pressure not to neglect their children and of community ideas of how they should behave as proper, responsible mothers. However they had personal beliefs about how to be a good mother that combined meeting their own needs with those of their children. Anna said that getting a break from her children helped her feel more fulfilled as an individual and therefore made her a better parent. Anna said to me repeatedly that I had 'done things in the right order': achieved educational qualifications and had had time to

enjoy myself before 'settling down' to marry and have children. This she said would make me a more confident and better parent.

AW: Fin I wis younger I wish thit I'd been encouraged ti tak ma time ti grow up an thit there wis plenty time in front o ye ti dee - lik ti mairry an hae bairns - late twenties, early thirties. I think it widda been better, I think I'd a been mair ready for it. Cos I've a lotta regrets ... (TR.6-7, AW).

Anna doesn't, however, say that she wasn't ready for marriage and children, only that she would have been "mair ready". She admits to feeling, at times, extremely stressed by being (like) a lone parent to her children, but always says she can cope:

AW: I feel within masel, I feel capable. Sometimes I feel - especially as faar's the bairns goes - oh, I'm nae makin a good job o this at aa. Bit I think, as ye grow aaler, ye get mair confident (TR.25, AW).

In this quote Anna feels she must be seen to 'cope' when her husband is at sea, like other women; and she is also describing her abilities in a locally acceptable manner (non-boastful).

RESTRICTING YOUR TIME OUT

All mothers I met limited the amount of times they left their children in someone else's care. Mothers would not go out socially without their children more than once a week.

Eliza often criticised her cousin Tina who often left her pre-school age child to go out on her own: her mother, a cousin or sister would babysit her son each weekend. In effect, Eliza said, other people were bringing up Tina's son. Tina was a single parent. If she didn't want to look after him herself, said Eliza, she shouldn't have had him in the first place.

Tina was described as "unsettled", which was why her son was demanding company. Tina should stay at home and look after him, said Eliza.

Eliza herself was criticised by her mother, Linda, because she had a part-time job while her sons were still at primary school. Because Eliza's husband is wealthy Linda thought that Eliza didn't need extra income and therefore shouldn't go out to work. Eliza's husband, said Linda, did not approve of Eliza going out to work; Linda insinuated that it embarrassed Eliza's husband that Eliza should be working. However Eliza's husband shook his head and laughed when discussing Lydia's "aall fashiont" ideas about Eliza's 'duties'.

What Lydia wished for Eliza was what she also thought appropriate for me: I couldn't work and look after a husband and children, she said.

Not all mothers are so unsupportive. Amanda decided to get a part-time job as her husband's income was not high. Her mother not only baby-sat the children but she also helped with Amanda's housework, recognising the family's need of extra income and how part-time working helped Amanda's self-confidence.

EDUCATION AND TRADITIONAL ROLES

Men and women in Balnamara all said that they were not actively encouraged by their parents to get educational qualifications. Boys were expected to become fishermen and girls to work in local shops and offices until they married, whereupon they concentrated on looking after a home, husband and children. One local woman argued that fisher parents did not want their children to gain educational qualifications because they feared that this would result in their children seeking work and residence outside the village.

When Anna asked her mother why she had not encouraged her to do well at school her mother replied:

AW: "Oh well, you wis a quine, it didnae maitter"
(TR.1, AW),

implying that she would 'end up' as a full-time housewife anyway. Anna's mother was a nurse. Anna later considered this to be a satisfying job, a career, something which Anna herself wished she

had. Anna blamed her mother, whom, she infers, should have encouraged her daughter because she herself had educational qualifications. However,

AW: She'd fulfilled her ambitions. She didnae hae at need ti push me on (TR.1, AW).

Anna often said she lacked self-confidence because she did not have a work identity which satisfied her and which gave her an interest outside her home life.

Although not encouraged to seek personal fulfilment in a job, an increasing number of mothers, I found, were becoming interested in gaining educational qualifications and in finding a part-time job, but only once their children had gone to school. The departure of the oldest child to school was a commonly identified time for young mothers to reflect on how much their self-identity was defined by the community and their families as 'X's mother' and 'Y's wife'.

Two women I knew got part-time jobs in a local shop when their children had all started school, although neither needed the extra income. Both had children over ten years old and both worked within school hours so as to be at home for their children's return from school, thus putting their children's needs first. One of the women, Sandra, had just finished a two-year course at a local college and was subsequently looking for an office job. She would only ever comment that it was 'affa fine' to 'get out of the house for a while'.

Amanda suffered a period of depression because she felt her only public identities were as her son's mother and her husband's wife. She wanted a part-time job that allowed her to continue to care for her husband and son and which gave her a sense of personal worth and achievement.

For other women this feeling of being something other than a mother and wife is met by starting new leisure activities.

Other young mothers express the need for a separate identity from family roles too, but will not compromise significantly on

their previous role as mothers who put their children's needs before their own.

Anna began a course at a local school to improve her qualifications but gave up under family pressures, through a severe lack of child-care and emotional support, and through a lack of self-confidence.

THEIR CHILDREN'S FUTURES AND CHOICES

Many women, wishing that their own lives had been different, want very different futures for their children. Mothers want their children to have educational qualifications, career choices, freedom from marital and parental responsibilities until they can 'mak somethin o their life' (TR.31, AW), and confidence to be different from others in the village if they want to be different. When asked if she thought that by encouraging her children to look for different roles from those she herself had chosen in life her children would have to move elsewhere Anna said she realised this (TR.35, AW).

Anna also said that young people nowadays are "startin ti think mair .. an affa lot wis passed doon fae mam ti mam an wis niver questioned .. It wis jist a case o 'At's i wey it is, ye dinna think, at's it'" (TR.35, AW).

Anna suggests that young people especially are questioning traditional gender models and patterns of behaviour and knowledge in a way which contradicts the general attitudes of acceptance of tradition. Family, she says, should no longer be so influential by restricting the range of role models for their children.

It is particularly interesting that Anna says mothers were the sources of influence and tradition on younger generations; she probably means this particularly in relation to girls. Mothers have been in a uniquely important position to influence both sons and daughters because of their degree of contact with them. Anna is one of several women who are questioning traditional roles and knowledge. Anna's mother often disagrees with Anna's new interpretations and so can block change (e.g. by refusing to babysit).

Young mothers can only fully support change for their children if they themselves are supported by their mothers: grandmothers play a crucial position in effecting change for their grandchildren. Grandmothers do not wholeheartedly support their daughters in finding new roles, believing that when they are mothers it is too late. Grandmothers do recognise, however, that the economic structures of the fishing industry are changing significantly and in view of this future economic uncertainty they are supportive of grandchildren gaining good educational qualifications.

It requires the practical support and will of two generations of mothers for opportunities of change to exist for children.

However young mothers themselves feel they too need new roles: Natalie would like to retrain now that her children have gone to school:

NN: I'll hae ti dee something becis I jist feel, well, ye're life's a waste o time if ye dinna dee summin (TR.52, NN).

However, she adds,

NN: I widnae like ma bairns ti come in fae the school an me nae ti be there (TR.52, NN).

Young mothers do not discount marriage and parenthood from a list of desirable achievements for their children; they simply wish their children to postpone these roles, as marriage and parenthood are thought to limit individuals' freedom to explore their interests and abilities.

Anna blames her lack of self-confidence on her parents, but lack of confidence is endemic to all women in the village and often to men. Lack of confidence is confused with modesty about ability and achievements and, whereas some men are encouraged to do well at sea through unacknowledged competition and individualism, women have no such avenue of self-expression

except through the decoration of the home and the maintenance of ideal images of the family and the home.

Anna thinks that by encouraging her children to be confident she will enable her children to choose more freely from a wider variety of social roles.

WOMEN AND FAMILY NETWORKS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I indicate how kinship is a primary organising principle (Callaway, 1992) in Balnamara, informing social relations and providing the model for defining local identity. I demonstrate that women are essential to the maintenance of kin relationships, and that thus they maintain the local identity of the family.

North-East fisherwomen have an incredible network of female support: this is a remark frequently made by incomers to Balnamara and neighbouring fishing communities. The fishermen's wives themselves recognise the uniqueness of this female family support network. They explain the existence of this network in terms of tradition and necessity. They regard themselves as different from other men's wives because their expectation from childhood is that they will marry a fisherman, like their mothers, and so must draw their daily support from a network of female kin and friends.

In this chapter I show that the maintenance of family networks is crucial for the daily practical and emotional support of women through discussing the forms and significance of different types of female kin relationship. Women's maintenance of family relationships is also crucial for maintaining support and information networks for husbands and children. Male kin are potential sources of information about jobs and fishing knowledge; and wider family support is psychologically important for men, as it is for their wives and children. Family ideology is shown to underpin the life of the community as a distinct socio-economic, cultural and religious entity.

DEFINITIONS

Definitions of kinship have long been a preoccupation of anthropologists and sociologists. Kinship continues to be

described as a primary organising principle of societies across the world (Callaway, 1992). Kinship is often linked with other social, political and religious aspects of community life.

Whether or not one agrees with Schneider's claim that in America it is possible to study kinship in its "pure form" because it is not hidden beneath economic, political, religious and other features of American society the same cannot be said of Balnamara kin relations. Kinship is key to defining who 'belongs' to the village. Although I had never lived in the village people were extraordinarily welcoming; but others who entered the village were received with a great deal more suspicion and with less trust.

Kinship in Balnamara plays an influential part in economic, political, social and religious life, despite quite fundamental social change (see HOUSING in first chapter). Although it can be argued that kinship in the 1990's plays a much less important role than in the past kinship is still ideologically significant and implicit in the local vocabulary of social, economic, religious and political relations.

Schneider's (1968) definition of relatives in America as those related to a person congenitally, or through marriage, is applicable to Balnamara also. Relatives in Balnamara are called 'yer relations', 'relatives', and more commonly, affectionately and informally, 'yer folk', 'yer ain folk', and 'yer faimily'. The first two terms are more likely to be used when describing family to an 'outsider'.

'Family' include people who are 'close' or 'nae si close' (echoing the distinction made between different types of friends: see FRIENDSHIP). This 'distance' terminology implies intimacy and perhaps easy definition, but this is not always so. 'Close' family are usually 'primary kin', one's parents, siblings and, perhaps, grandparents. Less close family are aunts, uncles and cousins of various degrees, but they can at different periods in one's life, and according to parental relationships, be either primary or secondary kin.

(Spouses are not regarded as kin for the purposes of this chapter).

Kin relationships are a special kind of social relationship which, because the blood link is seen as indelible, oblige a relative to behave in certain ways towards relatives. In Balnamara people say 'Well, s/he's jist yer ain flesh an bleed'; or 'Well, it's jist yer folk'. These sayings may also pertain to 'close' in-laws. Both phrases imply a sense of inescapability, ownership and responsibility and, usually, affection.

Definitions of the rights and obligations of various family members are very difficult to achieve, not only for various kinds of blood relatives but also for in-laws who are less morally-bound than blood relatives, and who 'voluntarily enter into and maintain the role of kin by mutual consent' (ibid., p.93). As Finch and Mason point out, people acknowledge guidelines, not rules, as to what family obligations are, so that there can be no clear consensus as to what family responsibilities are (Finch and Mason, 1993, p.14).

People show considerable variation in the expression of need and of willingness or ability to meet kin needs (Finch, 1989, p.55), even although and probably because there is a sense of inescapability about the 'fact' that people are related by blood or by marriage. Thus the variation in interpretation of roles and obligations, and the negotiated exchange and valuation given of services offered, allows some flexibility and the semblance of the mutual independence of both parties (Finch and Mason, 1993, p.58). Variations in interpretation of family roles will be explored in the ethnography below.

A number of factors influence the content and nature of individual kin relationships in Balnamara. Interestingly, many reappear as factors influencing the development of friendships. Factors influencing kin relationships include: the prior close relationships of parents, shared peer experiences or being of a similar age, geographical proximity, similar social and economic status, gender, 'ethnicity' and social and personal change. These factors will be explored in the ethnography below.

Much recent debate has discussed the nature of change in family relationships in Britain (e.g. Wall, 1992; Morgan, 1975, Willmott and Young, 1960, Finch, 1989). Writers have been particularly

concerned about whether or not change has meant the deterioration of the number, content and quality of kin relationships (e.g. Finch, 1989, Finch and Mason, 1993). Social processes such as industrialisation, urbanisation, individualism and the privatisation of the home and the family are quoted to support the 'deterioration' argument.

Family relationships have changed in Balnamara, paralleling social and economic change, but it is impossible to measure the interrelationship, the scale of the change and the impact of change on numbers of kin relationships. It is even less possible, far less meaningful, to try to measure and assess change in the level of commitment shown in different types of support.

Conscious of considerable changes in the village and beyond, people still assert that everyone is related to everyone else in the village. This demonstrates how crucial the idea of kinship still is to local identity.

HOW WOMEN MAINTAIN FAMILY NETWORKS

Fishermen are at sea all week and at weekends they have time to see only their wives, children and parents. Their wives on the other hand need daily support in their roles, as 'single mothers' particularly, and as women living alone with no other adult company. Traditionally support was drawn from, and labour shared by, other women living in the same house. Several generations and related families lived together, creating 'in the next room' networks of large, extended families and overlapping generations who shared scarce resources. Men worked together on family boats in the same way so that economic success and failure was shared within the family. Nowadays there is usually only one adult woman in the home. Even if she has time to spare from her daily work as a housewife, and although she has money enough spare and new social opportunities, a Balnamara woman has not got an 'in-house' supply of female child-carers.

The consequences of couples being able to afford houses of their own have been considerable for women in terms of on-hand support. Other factors have equally had serious implications for women's support networks. These factors include: not having to

work if you marry a fisherman (a woman consequently does not meet other women so easily and family child-care arrangements seem less 'necessary'; families are now smaller, reducing the number of kin available to give support; families have since the 1950's moved to other fishing communities, further reducing the opportunities for support; there are new and different ideas about the obligations of kin; and, since the 1950's, local perceptions of the 'ideal mother' define the mother as someone who devotes herself to the care of children almost twenty-four hours a day. This is the background against which young mothers participate in and work to maintain support structures. Women are responsible for maintaining family relationships, not only with their own, but also with their husbands' families. Below I discuss different types of support and networking among kin to demonstrate that women are still heavily reliant on their mothers for daily practical and emotional support. Other family relationships with, for example, aunts and female cousins, are shown to be influenced by other relational factors, which also, interestingly, influence the other major source of female support, friendships (see FRIENDSHIP). These secondary kin relationships are also shown to function as potential replacement families and as potential sources of economic support. The material presented relates mainly to women's lives as my access to information about males was limited to a few male family members.

MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

In Balnamara women's strongest female kin relationships other than with daughters are with their mothers. Amanda commented that women's relationships with their mothers are "affa important". However Amanda thought it difficult to generalise about the importance of every mother-daughter relationship because relationships vary according to the individuals involved. Some women and their mothers, Amanda thought, are "affa tied", both emotionally and practically. Amanda didn't think that mother-daughter relationships were any less important now than in previous generations; any

changes in need and commitment were "superficial". Amanda added that the growing trend locally of young mothers seeking to develop some sense of identity which is separate from more traditional roles was not indicative of change in women's needs for strong, supportive relationships with their mothers, probably because men still are absent daily from the home.

Although the nature of the mother-daughter relationship varies according to needs, the interpretation of obligations, and the compatibility of personalities, I knew of only one mother-daughter relationship which was regarded by family members and the community as 'dysfunctional'. Here the daughter claimed to have received no practical or emotional support from her mother once she married and had children. Despite wider family and public disapproval of her behaviour, the daughter repeatedly refused to look after her ageing mother. This was made easier because the daughter did not live locally. Nieces and nephews' wives tried to replace the daughter's help.

A number of points arise from this example: first, that the community and the parent expects daughter-mother support once the parent grows elderly; second, that the support given is ultimately the individual's decision; third, that help given between relations is related to the history of the relationship.

Isabel pointed out that there are three major stages of change in the relationships between mothers and their adult daughters.

The first change occurs when a daughter marries and sets up her own home, thus becoming independent of her mother. Isabel had to accept that she no longer had any 'right' to know what her daughter was doing and who with; Isabel said she knew not to ask too much. This stage Isabel described as becoming a friend to her daughter. If her daughter trusted and liked her mother as a friend she would share information and be open to her mother's influence. Thus the daughter became, practically and emotionally, semi-independent of her mother.

The relationship changes again when a daughter has children.

The mother acquires a new, additional role as helper and adviser, based on her experiences of motherhood.

The third stage of the relationship occurs when the mother grows infirm. In a 'role reversal' the daughter takes on the caring role and becomes a mother to her mother.

Isabel's description reflects a number of factors which influence not only a woman's relationship with her mother but also her relationships with friends and other members of her family.

The growth of a child towards emotional and practical independence is a difficult process for most parents and their children to manage. A significant stage in this process is when all a woman's children have left home to go to school: many wonder how they will occupy themselves. Many women experience a deep sense of loss when their children leave home to marry. Martina, at her mother's home to collect her wedding presents, was upset to find her mother crying in another room. Martina, her mother said, had been her vocation. They had lived together for over twenty years, seeing Martina's father only at weekends. Chris, Martina's mother-in-law, empathised with Martina's mother: she too had cried as her son walked up the church aisle to be married: she said she saw her "wee loonie" "gaan awa ti leave's". She said she dreaded even more her youngest child's marriage as she would have no-one at home during the week to care for.

The marriage of any child, male or female, is a traumatic event for particularly the mother: the child moves out, both physically and emotionally, to another home and primary relationship.

Women suggested that a son's marriage was more traumatic than that of a daughter: he leaves home in a more final way because he has much less practical and emotional contact with his natal family after marriage. A son becomes dependent largely on his wife.

However, most men seemed to make a point of visiting their parents - perhaps especially their mothers - at weekends: Paul liked to see his mother especially (he had contact at sea with his father). During the week a son's parents rely on their daughter-in-law to phone them with news of their son; so a weekend visit from their son is very welcome.

Couples will normally try to see both sets of parents at the weekend, perhaps alternating whom they eat with on a Sunday, but the nature of these relationships again depends on the couples and the individual relationships.

Sunday evening is traditionally a time when parents and children get together. Present in James and Chris's home were their two daughters and their families. Absent was their recently-married son and his wife. This, my uncle said, reflected how the son's relationships with his parents and sisters change once he marries. Chris said later that her evenings would be filled by visiting and helping in her daughters' houses, but that she didn't feel as free to visit her daughter-in-law.

Thus a mother's relationship with her daughters is usually much more physically and emotionally dependent than with her sons after they have married. She sees her daughters and grandchildren on a daily basis and she is for her daughters still the primary female figure in their lives. Her sons are away fishing and see her less. Also, the primary female figure in sons' lives becomes their wives. If there is any doubt that a man prefers to share confidences with his mother than with his wife this is seen as unnatural and dangerous, whereas it is accepted that women can rely on their mothers for much more emotional and practical support, particularly during a husband's absence. Linda and Hamish's daughter Eliza left home to attend college. Linda recalled with satisfaction how Eliza had cried when leaving home each weekend: to be "hame draughtit" (homesick) indicates affection and 'closeness' between family members. Linda never expected her son to show or perhaps have the same feelings as his sister, even though fishing trips could last for several weeks. She did, however, value sharing confidences with him and she resented how little he confided in her once he began courting. Fiona, Linda's niece, said privately that Frank, in his twenties, was too old to be so dependent on his mother and Linda was wrong to be encouraging Frank's reliance upon her.

All of the young women I spoke to enjoyed a feeling of independence when they married:

GM: Did ye miss yer mam ...?

AW: Nae really. It wis fine ti be independent, ken, an hae a hoose o yer ain, an ye cid dee fit ye liked when ye liked.. (TR.42, AW).

Local women still, however, have their mothers nearby to support them so that their use of the term 'independence' is relative to their pre-marital situation.

The nature and frequency of contact between daughters and mothers varies. Balnamara women generally continue to live nearby, making it geographically easy to continue the intimacy of a mother-daughter relationship.

POST-MARITAL COMMUNICATION WITH MOTHERS

The phone is the most frequent and commonly-used means of communication between married daughters and their mothers. Regular phone contact promotes a sense of intimacy and connectedness for both women while their husbands are absent. Linda and her daughter phone each other at least once every day, generally in the morning, when they discuss their plans for the day and any news about family, friends or neighbours. The women also exchange news about their social activities and seek each other's advice and help on a range of common experiences. How often either party phones depends on their needs. Natalie frequently complained that her mother had phoned several times that day with no apparent purpose. Natalie felt capable and did not need emotional support in this form from her mother. The phone-calls were a 'hindrance' to Natalie but they represented a sense of involvement to her mother.

When Linda or her daughter Eliza go on holiday they phone each other every second or third day. Linda begins to worry and feel ignored if Eliza does not phone.

Personal visiting is said to be not as common as it was earlier this century, but then people lived in a smaller geographical area with several families sharing the same house. However, nowadays a mother will visit her daughter several times during the week, particularly if the daughter has children and is less mobile.

Mothers and daughters regularly share meals together, both during the week and, if either husband is absent, at weekends. This contact counters the boredom and isolation which a lack of adult company brings many young house-bound mothers and grandmothers who have few non-family commitments or hobbies. Such contact is mutually beneficial.

Practical help is often given with gardening, house-decorating, major house-cleaning jobs, or with catering for others.

Because mothers are blood relatives there are strong social and personal expectations for them to provide a great deal of practical and emotional support, not only for their daughters but for their grandchildren too. They should not expect a direct exchange of goods in return but should give fairly altruistically (Schneider, 1968, p.vi).

INDEPENDENCE AND FAMILY SUPPORT

Parents often give financial help to their children and their families to enable them to increase their standard of living and maintain local living standards. Support is generally given privately.

The nature of the support offered and the form of negotiation procedures varies according to the individuals involved: they seldom seem to involve direct requests for help but allow negotiation to occur in an informal way. Both the young couple and the parents (-in-law) have room for manoeuvre and self-direction (Finch, 1989, p.55).

Stella tried very hard not only to support her daughter but to support Amanda's husband and their son. She frequently offered to help Amanda with housework, gardening or baby-sitting.

While baby-sitting, Stella would tidy away toys, wash up dishes or dust. Although I never heard Amanda say 'thank you', Amanda told me often how much she appreciated her mother's help. Yet if I washed Amanda's dishes Amanda couldn't thank me enough. Amanda did not express her appreciation directly to her mother as this would have compromised her sense of her family's independence and would have suggested that the help was short-term. Stella's 'reward' was a sense of involvement in her

daughter's family's life. Amanda included her mother in planned trips during the week and often discussed her personal worries about her family with her mother.

Although there are expectations of a minimum level of help which a mother should give her daughter, the quantity and nature of that help varies according to the individuals involved. Amanda was used to a certain level of support which was probably higher than average, but she accepts this as 'normal' because her mother is willing to do it and has always been supportive in the past.

Mothers can direct family patterns of spending and investment in their children long after the children have left home to set up 'independent' homes: Stella spent income and savings on Amanda's family to help them achieve local standards of living. When Will needed work Stella encouraged her husband to give him a boat berth.

Although Amanda was herself earning Stella occasionally bought her clothes and meals out. Amanda frequently dropped hints about what she would like her mother to buy her.

Just describing her difficulties and needs was Amanda's way of asking her mother for support. She rarely seemed to ask her mother directly for support.

However, as Finch notes (1989, p.55), "the procedures for offering and accepting it [help] are quite tricky to handle in practice", as became clear when Amanda chastised Stella for over-indulging her son. Her mother reminded her, in turn, that she made it possible, by providing child-care, for her daughter to work.

Will was dissatisfied with his wages and regularly changed berth: this unsettled behaviour made Stella anxious, so she continued to finance them indirectly by buying Amanda and George food, toys and clothing, even though her own husband's income was low and unreliable.

Stella said she wanted to help them to 'get onto their own feet'. Such rhetoric of independence is common in the village and in fishing communities in Scotland generally (e.g. Cohen, 1987, Byron, 1986). Yet behind the rhetoric of independence is a

complex pattern of financial, moral, practical and social support. Even though financial and practical help is almost always a one-way process, from parent to child, a semblance of independence between parents and children is maintained. Parents give economic support to their children, partly because this gives them the opportunity to share in their children's family lives by indicating through finance their love and support, and partly because parents share in the personal, social and economic status of their children and their families. Independence and family support are inextricably linked in a cyclical redistribution of economic and social opportunity. To be independent a young family are, contradictorily, partly dependent on the support of their families.

HOW MOTHERS INFLUENCE THEIR DAUGHTERS' SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO THE FAMILY

Mothers can support their children's marriages by reminding their daughters daily of their family responsibilities; but mothers cannot comment or act so easily, apart from in a financial sense, to influence their daughters-in-law and support their sons' marriages. Women may also encourage the son (in-law) to support his wife: when Sandy's wife was ill and Sandy was left with two teenage children and an infant to look after, his mother, his mother-in-law, his sister and sisters-in-law, and various other female family members all offered him assistance.

Baby-sitting is an important way of showing support for a daughter and her family. Usually a female will ask her mother to baby-sit or, alternately, will ask a grandmother, sister, brother, or female cousin.

Mothers can withdraw their support of their daughters if they disapprove of particular behaviour: Helen would refuse to baby-sit to allow her daughter Anna to go out. At the same time Anna would quote examples of other women's mothers who did provide their daughters with help. Ironically, this is the same tactic - moral pressure applied through peer example - that Anna used when living with her parents.

MOTHERS AND SIBLING CHILDREN

A mother must be careful not to favour a particular daughter or son, or one of their spouses or children, more than another. Stella's son frequently accused his mother of favouring his sister and her family; but Stella's daughter's family members were voluntarily more involved with Stella than was her brother. Stella felt she had greater freedom and rights with her daughter and family than she did with her daughter-in-law, who relied on her own mother.

Since women tend to rely on their mothers for support and companionship after their marriage more than do their brothers, mothers may be open to usually unfair criticism of favouritism (see PARENTS-IN-LAW, below).

MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS: INTER-CHANGEABLE ROLES

Daughters share the same roles as their mothers, as wives, mothers, sisters and as women. When a mother and daughter are both married they, on occasion, tend each other's husbands and sons as if their roles were interchangeable: for example, at Sunday lunch both Eliza and Linda serve the grandsons, father and grandfather. Linda behaves similarly in Eliza's house. However both women retain a sense of their own independence from one another: their help cannot be commanded, only sought. Linda, about to set off on holiday, told Eliza to "look efter ma loon" - but was taken aback when Eliza replied, "He's aal enough ti look efter himsel". Nonetheless, Eliza provided all her brother's meals and encouraged him to visit more frequently while his mother was on holiday.

Mothers and daughters may feel morally and emotionally bound to care for one another's families: Linda 'covers' for Eliza when Eliza cannot be present to, for example, cook for her husband or sons. On one occasion I was called in to pick up the children from school, to serve tea, and to stay with the children until Eliza returned. Their father could have taken time off work as he was self-employed, but didn't. Linda rang me twice in three hours to check that everything was running smoothly - she felt responsible and guilty that neither she nor her daughter were present.

When Eliza goes on holiday Linda makes a return journey of over ten miles to check that Eliza's house is secure. Sometimes Linda's husband will go in her stead. Linda vacuums, dusts and polishes Eliza's house so that when Eliza returns everything appears as if Eliza herself had just done it.

Numerous factors affect how much support a mother gives her daughter. Such factors include the history of emotional and practical help between them, a mother's attitude to her daughter and how she cares for her children, and her understanding of her daughter's needs. For example, Stella sympathised with her daughter that she had to work part-time and so she supported her, but Linda couldn't understand her daughter's desire to have a part-time job while she had children living at home and didn't need the money. This made Linda circumspect about providing child-care for her grandchildren on a regular basis. Even though Eliza chose part-time caring jobs, Linda still disapproved, believing that Eliza should be devoted only to the care of her family, like her mother.

Until the 1950's many married women in Balnamara did paid work to boost a low income, leaving their children in their mothers' care. Often the mother lived with the daughter and was on-hand to baby-sit. Now grandmothers do baby-sit but they have perhaps more independence of previously influential family members, like their daughters, because they live apart.

Anna constantly had difficulty in getting a baby-sitter. Anna's mother had a demanding part-time job and was not often available to baby-sit: Anna said her relationship with her mother was, therefore, significantly different from those of her peers. Annada was, paradoxically, both proud of her mother having a good job and resentful that she didn't give Anna more practical support by baby-sitting. Other young women expressed sympathy for Anna's situation, because most other young women's mothers baby-sat regularly and willingly. None of the women's mothers had a demanding paid job and none believed in a woman's need to prioritise paid work over family commitments. Anna insisted that her mother was deliberately un-co-operative, denying her the outside interests her mother herself had.

A mother must be emotionally supportive of her children's marriages. For example, women approach their own families, and particularly their mothers, rather than talk to in-laws about marital problems. Mothers know that to visibly support their daughters against their son-in-laws can lead to recriminations later on, that they harbour an unfair dislike or resentment of an in-law; so support of a child's marriage must be given sympathetically and tactfully. When Gillian severely criticised her fiancé, her mother Chris later privately and tactfully empathised with her daughter, saying that she had to establish that she had an 'equal say' in the relationship.

SUPPORTING ELDERLY PARENTS

Linda has always visited not only her own ageing relatives, but other old people in Balnamara, and she criticises other women if they 'neglect' their parents (in-law).

She believes that women should be willing to take their parents into their homes once parents are elderly and need care. She and her sister cared for their dementing mother in their own homes until she died. Her sister-in-law cared for her father in the same way.

Linda frequently said that, when she and her sisters were children, not only was it expected that children should look after their elderly parents, but nursing care was unheard of, and accommodation and money were extremely scarce. Consequently several generations had to live under the same roof and share resources. Linda said that children nowadays did not show the same devotion to their parents. She then said to her daughter that she would never be as good to her parents as Linda had been to hers. In saying this Linda was reminding Eliza of her obligations to her parents in their future infirmity.

However, many people of Linda's age-group recognise that, although their childhood home contained grandparents, there are in the 1990's good care alternatives available - local sheltered housing and nursing homes - which promote everyone's independence but do not compromise on affection and kin support. Children of Linda's age are now able to provide their

elderly parents with different kinds of support, such as car lifts to meet health appointments or to shop in town.

While there is some talk in Balnamara about deleterious effects of financial prosperity locally on family relations people recognise that social, economic and demographic change do not determine but inform the negotiation process of family relationships (Finch, 1989, p.113). People recognise, both verbally through comments such as 'X is affa gweed til his/her mither' and practically through offering 'gifts' of clothing, furniture and food, that especially children's obligations and love for their parents are very significant. Although there was much initial local concern about the loss of independence entailed in old people giving up their homes to live in new local sheltered or nursing-home accommodation these options are now very popular because they allow old people to remain relatively independent. Old people in sheltered accommodation have peer support and companionship; and their children are released from having to provide intensive personal care. Linda herself perhaps realises that material conditions are not comparable now to times when no alternative to children's care or the poor-house was available. Daughters and daughters-in-law still attend parents very faithfully and lovingly, and this support both complements parental independence and supports it (Finch, 1989, p.81).

Daughters attend to everyday practical and social needs of elderly parents by, for example, getting shopping or medicine or medical attention for them, by helping them with everyday expenses and form-filling, by providing emotional support and advice, by giving lifts to religious services, by encouraging family visiting and providing a network of family and social information, and by taking them on short holidays. Daughters are often in attendance of their children's families, thus providing care and support for two generations of their family.

When an elderly parent dies daughters and sons grieve very deeply. They lose a person of great emotional and practical importance in their lives, someone who has known them intimately all their lives, someone who has made them independent and supported their personal and social

development and for whom they, in turn, have lovingly cared for. Kathleen commented when her mother died that she had lost a mother, friend and a sort of dependent child. Natalie said when her grandmother died (for whom she cared as for a mother) that she felt she had lost her own child. John commented that, when his father died, he lost a man who had given him love, moral guidance and support.

PARENTS-IN-LAW

A woman's primary relationships with in-laws are with her mother-, father- sisters- and brothers- in-law. The terminology mirrors that of her natal family and suggests that, theoretically, they fulfil the same kin obligations. Other in-law terminology reflects the greater emotional and practical distance between the woman and her in-laws, for example her husband X's grandmother is 'X's granny' or 'X's cousin'.

In-laws are accorded similar roles to those of a woman's natal family but such close, intimate bonds take a long time to mature and seldom equate to those of the natal family.

In-law relationships become more crucial when grandchildren are born as the grandchildren share two sets of grandparents. A young mother is extremely influential in the formation of such inter-generational links and, therefore, has some power over her in-laws, just as they have power over her if she wishes their support. Parents also know that daughters- and sons-in-law influence their relationship with their child. Similarly, for husbands, mothers-in-law in particular can be very influential in the family home.

Because a husband is absent so frequently young women can rely on in-laws for personal support. Women are expected to maintain a spouse's family relationships and to facilitate the flow of family information to his parents in her husband's absence.

Mothers-in-law like to treat a new son or daughter-in-law well and will try to support them as they would their own children. Linda said that, whomever her son married, she would be good to her. Helen said that her mother-in-law was very kind to her by

inviting her for meals, keeping her company, amusing her and by providing practical support.

A prospective son- or daughter-in-law is expected to court the affections of future in-laws. Linda and Hamish were disappointed at how seldom their son's fiancée visited them: "She'll hae ti try an come an see her folk", Hamish said regretfully.

Linda increasingly treated her prospective daughter-in-law like her own daughter, asking for her advice and opinions on, for example, house furnishings, as both of them were to share the same roles as housewives and mothers (see **HOUSE INTERIORS** in first chapter).

When Amanda moved to her husband's village she saw her in-laws two or three times a week, but felt she had to "watch her P's and Q's". However, she added,

AW: I think I've got a better relationship thin he his wi his mam .. I think they're a bittie scunnert o een anither becis she's hid him for .. twinty five eer noo. It's fine for her ti get a change wi me, ken. She cin spik ti me aboot things an aa, ken (TR.45, AW).

A son- or daughter-in-law can act as an intermediary when a parent and child disagree: Will and his mother had a particularly tempestuous relationship, and probably his mother was glad that Amanda could have a 'buffering' effect on their relationship. No doubt his displeasure at times with his mother was redirected at his wife, just as his displeasure with his mother-in-law was usually redirected at his wife.

In-laws try hard to develop a good relationship with one another. Stella was very proud of her son's fiancée: she was a very talented home-maker, said Stella. Gifts from Jan were highly prized and talked about to visitors. The gifts were interpreted as a sign of Jan's affection for Stella's family. In return Stella bought Jan gifts such as an expensive necklace which she normally would only buy for her daughter; and she visited Jan and her family with various members of her family. Jan and Stella together teased John and tried to persuade him to do things they wanted to do.

Stella supported Jan's good relationship with her future father-in-law, saying "Jan can twist ye roon her little finger!"

In many ways Jan seemed, although only engaged to Jack, to already be an important part of her husband's family, and was an advocate for them to non-kin. She promoted their family interests by, for example, reinforcing Stella's efforts to pair me off with Stella's other son. Jan told me how kind and generous her brother-in-law to-be was to her, implying that he would be the same to me.

Female in-laws maintain contact several times a week by phoning or visiting. Lack of contact is taken seriously as a sign of a lack of interest in the in-law family, but in-laws frequently find it difficult to judge how much contact to pursue. In-law relationships imply intimacy because they imply blood connection through a spouse and future blood connection through children, but most relationships in Balnamara are created through personal choice, experience and time. 'In-law-hood' is, in definitional terms, an insoluble bond, even though spouses can divorce.

Misunderstandings are highly likely to arise, especially in the first few years of 'in-law-hood'. Chris and her daughters complained that their new daughter-/ sister-in-law seldom visited them; meantime their sister-in-law complained to me that her in-laws seldom visited her.

Competition for the attention of parents or in-laws is also possible. Jack constantly accused his mother of treating her son-in-law better than Jack's wife. Stella was very conscious of these tensions and tried to treat all equally. She had her son and daughter's wedding pictures framed to the same size and hung in equally important places to illustrate her lack of bias. Stella's son also accused his mother of treating her daughter's son better than his son but Stella did not point out that her daughter-in-law denied her access to the child, for this would have been hotly denied by her son.

Jack was frequently, and apparently unreasonably, jealous of his siblings' relationships with his parents, but he ignored how his wife denied Stella access to their home and her grandchild.

Stella's son-in-law was also jealous, but of Stella's relationship with his own son, Gary, her grandchild. Both jealous males criticised the grandmother because she was a lynch-pin in providing family economic, practical and emotional support. Stella, although aware of these tensions and injustices regarding her grandchildren, would not risk open conflict with the men as this would have resulted in further permanent damage to her relationships with her children, in-laws and grandchildren. A daughter can heavily criticise her mother and yet retain a strong, mutually-dependent relationship with her. On a couple of occasions I heard Amanda call her mother a "hag" and an "aal bag". However, criticisms may be made of in-laws which could not so easily be made of people who are unrelated. Whether the criticisms can be made without permanent damage depends on the individuals and the sensitivities involved. Alice accepted criticisms from her daughter and her son-in-law Pete, but Pete was known to be pugilistic anyway, so allowances were made for his behaviour.

Often in-laws criticise each other indirectly through alerting the common party: for instance Amanda, with no preamble, suddenly announced to her mother that she and her husband were unhappy with her mother's generosity towards their son: Stella gave him too much. This news, Amanda said, was better to come from Amanda than from her husband. Amanda complained that she frequently had to absorb her husband's anger because of Stella's behaviour, and Amanda felt she had to warn her mother before irreparable damage was done to all their relationships. Stella protested weakly, pointing out how she wanted to help Amanda's family. Her protests were measured so as not to inflame the situation. Amanda's husband felt that his family's independence was being compromised by his mother-in-law and that she had too much emotional influence through present-giving on her grandchild.

Stella consequently found ways to see her grandchild which did not involve the presence or knowledge of her son-in-law. Amanda said to me afterwards that she was afraid of having damaged her relationship with her mother, that she did

appreciate her mother's help, but that she could not endure Will nagging her. However Stella knew that her daughter and her family relied on her for support, and that her help was appreciated; this was proven by her daughter continually involving her in her life with her children.

Similarly, when criticised by her son-in-law or daughter, Alice seldom argued: her defence was to show how emotionally injured she felt and to imply that she would withdraw her help. Like Stella, she knew that she and her daughter were mutually-dependent on one another and that her relationship with her grandchildren was at stake.

If a mother appears unwilling to 'take second place' to her son's wife this can result in disharmony, principally between the daughter- and mother-in-law. Women talk about sons who are tied to their mother's apron strings, indicating disapproval of his emotional attachment to his mother rather than his own wife. Morna's son, his wife and their children have broken off all communication with her. Morna insists that her son's wife 'turned her son against her', while others in the community think that Morna is partly to blame for the estrangement. Morna's son is her only child. Morna continues to send presents to her grandchildren but the presents go unacknowledged. Most people feel sorry for Morna, even if they believe that she is partly to blame for the division. It is thought inconceivable that family relations between a mother, her children, in-laws and grandchildren can break down completely.

The support of parents and in-laws is essential for the young wife and mother and for the grandchildren. However there is a contradiction between the independence espoused and valued by families, and the very real level of practical and emotional support which parents give their children, in-laws and grandchildren.

GRANDCHILDREN

Mothers' practical involvement in their daughters' lives increases once their daughters have children. Mothers-in-law also become more involved when grandchildren are born.

Because most women in Balnamara have children while in their late teens or early twenties grandmothers are usually still relatively young and able-bodied: they have the energy, the time and the financial resources to become heavily involved in the care of the grandchild.

One grandmother enthused to another, "Oh they're so shortsome, the little eenies! It's affa fine". "Shortsome" means that time passes quickly and pleasurably. Certainly, many grandmothers feel that, having no children at home, they miss their role as mother: instead, a grandmother can busy herself helping her daughter(-in-law) and entertaining grandchildren.

News of pregnancy is generally given first to one's husband and then to one's mother and mother-in-law. These are the people who will be expected to support the woman most - financially, practically and emotionally - to rear her child.

Mothers traditionally accompany their daughters into hospital when they go into labour. Some young women said they were disappointed that their husbands were not present during the birth but accepted that work came first; they did, however expect their mothers to go with them to the labour ward.

Amanda said that, in this situation, mothers are as important to their daughters as in previous generations because men are usually absent when their children are born. Thus, by supporting her daughter during pregnancy and labour, a mother establishes a pattern of support which will last most of her life-time.

The woman's mother relays the news of the birth to the father by contacting the fish-sales company his boat works for. She will also make sure that a family member or friend looks after her daughter's house while she is away; she will make sure that there is food for the baby and mother's return home; she will arrange for, or herself take care of, her daughter's other children; and she arranges for her daughter's transportation home. When her daughter's husband returns home he takes over responsibility for caring for his wife and child.

A mother will be approached by family and others in the community for information about her daughter and the new-born baby. She is often seen as an 'adviser' on when her daughter and

baby are fit enough to receive visitors. After the birth the mother and her daughter take the baby for a walk. This is an occasion for the grandmother and her daughter to publicly 'show' the child. Onlookers will comment on the child's looks, and particularly on the child's physical resemblance to his/her family. Both the mother and her daughter make comments on the family resemblance between the child and relatives of present and past generations. Thus the child is connected to family and community history (see also **THE PUBLIC SHOWING OF THE NEW BABY** in previous chapter).

Female relatives especially get involved in offering help and advice.

GM: .. did ye get a lot a help fae yer in-laas an fae yer mam ..?

AW: Oh ay, they were aye roon aboot, offerin advice an feedin .. They come roon aa the time (AW, TR.44).

Having a first child is a challenging experience and many women feel they have to act very independently to prove that they are adequate mothers. Nancy regretted not allowing her mother and mother-in-law to support her by helping bring up the child.

NN : I wis as determined I wis gaan ti dee it masel. Which wis the wrang thing, really, lookin back. Bit at the time, first mums think, "I can do this" (TR.78, NN).

When I said to Anna that she had been fortunate to have had her mother's help when her first child was born, she said, "Fit?! Interferin, ay! She wis as green as could be! She'd forgotten aathin!" Amanda made a similar comment: she said she was glad she didn't live in the same village as her mother as Amanda had to prove that, when Gary was young, she could manage on her own.

Thus the nature of the grandmother's involvement with the grandchild will depend on the nature of the grandmother and daughter's relationship.

Some new mothers actively encourage their mothers' involvement with the newly-born. Martina's mother came every morning to help her daughter when her grandchild was newly-born. Martina appreciated her help, but her mother- and sisters-in-law felt excluded. However, Martina's husband was at sea, and she was her mother's only child. Martina had married into her husband's village and did not have any close friends living nearby; and, as her mother-in-law recognised, a daughter is always closer to her mother than to her in-laws.

Grandmothers are allowed a degree of contact with the grandchild beyond that of any other family members, friends or neighbours. Contact with the grandchild is both physical and emotional. Grandmothers will bathe, feed, speak to and play with the new baby; they will also change the baby's nappy, a job done usually only by the baby's mother or father. Such intimate contact with the baby is highly symbolic of a relationship of trust and affection between the baby, mother and grandchild, and also shows how both women can perform the same role for the baby (see above, **MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS: INTERCHANGEABLE ROLES**).

Grandmothers often speak to grandchildren as if they were their own children: they can share or seem to 'take over' the mothering role, even when the mother is present. This allows the child's mother to do or concentrate on other things. For example, at a local summer show Stella took charge of her grandson and talked to him constantly. She bought him, his mother and I food, as if we were all her children or her dependants. She bought her grandson clothes and toys also.

I occasionally observed tension and disagreement between mothers and their daughters regarding the mother's involvement with her grandchild. I cannot recall seeing direct disagreement between a daughter and her father regarding the child, but grandfathers are usually less frequently and intensely involved than their wives.

Grandparents' own experiences of parenting will affect their attitude to grandchildren, and thus there is often tension between sets of maternal and paternal grandparents regarding the child's affections. When Stella's daughter-in-law Jan gave birth for the first time, Jan's mother said that 'this bairn was hers' because the other grandparents already had a grandchild.

Daughters theoretically achieve equality with, and independence from, their mothers upon marriage, and this is reinforced when daughters themselves become mothers who can direct their children's allegiance to themselves.

Grandmothers often respond to the children's needs without seeming to first consult their daughters: there is an assumption of right; but if a daughter should give a direction regarding the child's care a mother should comply, reversing previous childhood roles, so that the grandmother is dependent on her daughter's instructions.

The birth of a child changes the relationship between the child's mother and the grandmother: grandmothers become advisers, supporters and helpers, as well as confidantes and friends.

A mother can phone and ask her mother for advice or help at any time. A grandmother will baby-sit at short notice to allow her daughter to go visiting or shopping; or she will go shopping with her daughter and baby, and will share child-care duties. There are no rigid rules about these roles, only personal interpretations of them. Thus there are many variations in the type of support grandmothers give.

Grandmothers and daughters judge how much support to give according to a number of factors, such as personal liking and interest, the history of the relationship, and the scale of need. Brigid regularly complained that her mother did not visit her enough, or show enough interest in,, and support for, her daughter and children. Her mother was always asking Brigid for support and was seemingly too busy panicking about her own life to worry about her daughter. However, when Brigid was ordered to rest by her doctor, her mother spent every day doing Brigid's housework and looking after Brigid's children. When Brigid

became depressed her mother spent days, and sometimes nights, trying to help her.

Grandparents are assumed to have spare financial resources and time, once their own children have moved out of the family home. Grandparents can afford 'extras' for grandchildren and are expected to "spyll" (spoil) a grandchild, buying him/her food and presents. This demonstrates love for a grandchild and often helps to strengthen the bond between grandparent and grandchild.

Linda said, however, that one should not spoil grandchildren too much: a Balnamara child should learn to be independent and thus appreciate the rewards of hard work. This idea was reflected in Linda and her husband's praise of one grandchild who saved his pocket money, while the other grandchild spent it, usually on sweets and toys. However, despite her rhetoric, Linda regularly spent large amounts of money on fashionable clothing for her grandchildren.

Linda also visited her grandchildren regularly, bringing them sweets and giving them lots of attention.

Grandparents find grandchildren very rewarding. They enjoy helping to bring up a child 'without the responsibilities' of disciplining them and paying for them.

Grandparents, particularly grandmothers, frequently indulge their grandchildren. Although Stella heard her daughter forbid her son from eating chocolate she gave him a sweet. When Eliza refused her son's request for more pudding or biscuits Linda gave him an alternative form of sugar. The grandparent tries not to antagonise the parent but indulges the child. A grandchild learns to ask for special favours from a grandparent.

NN: .. they [grandparents] give them good presents at Christmas and birthdays. An she [grandmother] buys her little trinkets every week, ken. An jist little things fae the shoppies (TR.82, NN).

Stella was constantly buying her grandchild presents: every week he had a new toy or new clothing. This demonstrates a

continuation of grandparents' behaviour which begins before a grandchild is born: to demonstrate her commitment to the child and his/her parents a grandmother will buy an expensive present such as a pram, crib or cot. Stella felt 'side-lined' when the grandson's other grandmother had bought him all these things. Jan and Jack denied Stella and John access to their grandchild. The child's other grandmother, Esme, declared that she would give the grandson anything he wanted. Later, Jack and Jan allowed Stella and John more contact with the grandchild, but this appeared to me to be because Jack wished to reclaim a berth on his father's boat, and shares, which he had already cashed in. Amanda criticised her mother's generosity towards their son:

Amanda: Dinna buy him nae mair toys. Will's fair mad at ye an he'll lose i heid at ye if ye buy im ony mair stuff. He'll jist start ti expec somethin every time we gang awa, an it's nae good for im.

Stella: His ither granny isnae gaan ti be gweed til im. An some grannies his ti baby-sit three or four times a week ti let the parents oot ti wirk.

Amanda: Some parents needs ti gang oot an earn some money ti keep aathin gaan.

Stella: Ay, well.

Amanda: Well, we're i parents. An Will's fair mad at ye buyin him si much stuff.

Stella: Well, well.

Stella, in the above exchange, tries not to be antagonistic. She realises that her relationship with not only her grandson, but with both his parents, is threatened. Her over-helpful behaviour is actually seen by the child's parents as disrespectful and as insulting because it compromises their independence.

Grandmothers, probably because of their role in the discipline of their own children, generally take more of an active part in supervising a grandchild's behaviour than do grandfathers. Having daily contact, and frequently having sole charge of the child for several hours, grandmothers have stronger relationships with the children and more responsibility than the grandfathers. Indeed, they may see more of the children than do the children's fathers.

However, a grandmother has to comply with the father's decisions on disciplining the child. When Stella remarked on Will's behaviour towards his child, and the lack of time Will spent at home with his family (Will was self-employed) Amanda defended her husband. Similarly, when Will criticised his mother-in-law for being over-powerful in her relationship with her grandchild, Amanda defended Will.

Late one morning I went to visit Susan and her family. Betty, Susan's mother, was also there drinking tea. Betty told Susan that her children ought to be dressed and she tried to force her grandchild to get dressed. Betty urged me to put on Lucy's tights, then made to do it herself. Lucy began to shout, and this made Lucy's father David bellow at Betty to leave the child alone.

Betty, he said, had no right to come into their house and start interfering. Susan kept up a tirade of abuse, warning Betty that her grandchildren would grow to dislike her.

On another occasion only Susan, her children, myself and Betty were present. When Colin, Susan's son, tried to eat an already-opened yoghurt Betty offered him a whole one which she said flies would not have touched. Colin started to shout and fight with her. Susan said to me, in her mother's presence, "She's a richt coorse hag, at. She tiks aathin awa fae im. She disnae leave im wi nithin. Fin at loon grows up he'll jist mine on er as somebody it took aathin fae im". Betty said weakly, "I ken", trying not to antagonise Susan.

Susan felt stressed by her son's bad humour and would appeal to me to witness the 'cruelty' of her mother, threatening her that she was permanently damaging her relationship with her grandson. Grandparents should be remembered for 'spyllin', not denying, a grandchild.

Colin began to kick Betty. She remonstrated, saying "Dinna noo or I'll skelp yer dock" and Susan responded "Dinna you touch im! Dinna you wheep im!" She then said accusingly: "Fit wey div ye aye tik aathin fae im, an ye ken he'll bawl? Div ye like ti hear him bawlin, or somethin?".

Once Susan begins to deny her mother autonomy in dealing with her grandchild Betty quickly withdraws from the situation,

realising that to argue would jeopardise the relationships. Susan accuses Betty of trying to make the child unhappy and of getting pleasure from seeing him upset. Susan is trying to show Betty how to avoid angering the child. The accusations Susan makes are based on exaggeration in order to make Betty apologise. Susan tries to alter Betty's behaviour by denying her any rights over the child and by humiliating her.

Grandfathers take a much less prominent role in disciplining their grandchildren. This reflects their much less prominent role in caring for their own children. Betty's husband Frank would call upon his daughter if a grandchild misbehaved or required serious disciplining; and Linda would tease Hamish that, not only had he never physically chastised his grandchildren, he had never done so to his own children.

When Linda's grandchildren misbehaved Linda took steps to discipline them: for instance, she would separate her fighting grandsons by dragging one away. Like other grandparents, her discipline often consisted of verbal ultimatums rather than physical threats. Physical punishment was, generally, only meted out by the children's mother or father: a mother is expected to control her children.

Many young mothers I knew resented their parents' attempts to stop them from disciplining their children. Natalie told friends how her mother had tried to stop Natalie from smacking her children, but, Natalie claimed, "ye hiv til or they'd run wild!" Nancy added that her mother-in-law tried to stop Nancy from smacking her children, but, Nancy said, "ye hiv ti control em". Interestingly, mothers often deny their husbands, and the children's teachers, the right to discipline their child(-ren), particularly if it involves physical punishment. A mother protects her child and, at the same time, the mother's right to discipline the child. The mother is ultimately concerned that the child is dealt with fairly, and sees herself as more fair and in a better position to judge than her husband, mother or other family members.

A grandchild is encouraged to regard a grandparent's house as a second home: a grandparent is trusted to look after him/her in

the way that his/her parent would. A grandchild may stay overnight at a grandparent's house or can stay a week, for a 'holiday'. Older grandchildren are encouraged to spend part of the summer with their grandparents.

Grandparents' houses are often decorated with their children's and grandchildren's photos which mark family events such as marriages or stages in a child's growth. Many of these photographs are formally posed studio photographs.

Grandparents' love of their grandchildren is reflected in the numerous pictures adorning mantelpieces and china-cabinets. Grandparents also decorate their walls with their grandchildren's drawings. A grandmother laughed on recounting how a grandchild always checked to see if his photograph and drawings were displayed alongside those of the other grandchildren.

Parents also monitor the level of affection shown to grandchildren by their grandparents.

Linda and Hamish constantly favoured their youngest grandson because he had, they said, a very pleasant nature: he most resembled them, they said. Linda's niece, herself a young parent, thought this was very unfair.

It is generally expected that grandparents should be regularly and significantly involved in the upbringing of their grandchildren. Nancy explains:

NN: .. ye hiv ti share yer bairns a wee bit. Jist because it's so close a community. Ye canna really avoid seein them [grandparents] in a week here. I mean, Edna's [grandmother] jist fit? Six doors up?! (Laughs) (TR.82, NN).

Nancy's comments suggest there is tension between the parents' desire for independence and community expectations that grandparents' and extended family have privileges in relation to contact with the children.

Like Nancy (above) Paul comments that the geographical proximity of families is a reason in itself for why grandparents see a lot of their grandchildren.

GM: Div ye feel thit ye hiv ti let em see the grandchildren .. as weel .. thit ye're pairt o bringin them up?

PA: Ay, ay, bit I think at's jist cis they bide in i same places, ken. They see em plenty throw the week, like (TR.191, PA).

Paul then goes on to describe how he likes to keep in touch with his own parents on a regular basis, suggesting that the 'link' is not only based on the geographical proximity of the homes and community expectation, but also on love.

Being unable to offer a child and grandchild regular support can leave a grandmother feeling guilty: Moira's mother felt guilty when her daughter and grandchildren moved too far away for her to provide regular support. Daughters living locally obviously get more support because they live nearby.

Just as mothers censure grandmothers' inattention to grandchildren or favouritism, grandmothers may censure their daughters' behaviour if they think it will have a detrimental effect upon the children. Natalie's mother said Natalie ought to be staying by her own fireside with her children on a winter's night, not going to an exercise class.

Grandmothers and mothers often discuss clothing and physical care aspects of bringing up children. Grandmothers frequently buy grandchildren clothing and praise the way daughters dress and keep children clean. Dispraise can cause resentment, in particular if it comes from the mother's mother-in-law.

Grandmothers are very proud of their grandchildren and frequently accompany their daughters to children's activities. From my house I watched well-dressed grandmothers carrying their grandchildren into the village hall or church for parties or social events; their daughters followed them. School sports days and end of term services contained almost as many grandmothers as mothers. Children are thus shown to be representatives of several family generations.

Grandparents promote the moral, social and religious education of their grandchildren by practical example, encouragement and by morally censuring the parents. They will offer to take the grandchildren to religious services, or will criticise parents if they think grandchildren are not encouraged to attend religious services regularly and to behave properly.

Helen was always very proud of her grandchildren and liked to see them well-dressed, well-behaved and praised by other meeting attendees. Linda, similarly, was proud of her grandsons, and would comment on their behaviour or good clothes and their attendance at church.

A grandparent tries to support and encourage a grandchild's developing skills by encouraging the child, by defending the child at times from parental and community criticism, and by publicly supporting the child through attending public functions such as school prize-giving ceremonies and children's performances or concerts.

Not having children to support you in old age is viewed as a severe handicap. A spinster commented "I hinna naebody o ma ain", although she had a niece and her husband in attendance. My aunt pitied her and treated her as an elderly aunt. Thus female relatives try to take care of elderly relatives, but this is seen as not so desirable as the attentions of one's own children. Two elderly sisters constantly worried about a retired bachelor neighbour because he had no wife, children, nieces, nephews or cousins to give him social or practical support.

Grandchildren are encouraged to develop their relationships with, and love, their grandparents. Children's parents also encourage their children to care for and have interest in other old relatives and members of the community.

Natalie visited her grandmother Bett every day, despite having to care for two young children. (Bett's only daughter lived in England and her daughter-in-law could not drive). Natalie often brought her children to see their great-grandmother as she herself was very fond of her. The great-grandmother fed the children their favourite foods and she allowed them to play freely. Natalie made her grandmother food, brought her

messages, ferried her to clinics and hospitals, listened and advised on problems, and co-ordinated the rest of her family's support of her.

Natalie greatly enjoyed her grandmother's company. Yet their roles had reversed: whereas Natalie had become socially and practically independent, her grandmother had become dependent on her family's sense of obligation towards her. When Bett died Natalie was deeply upset: she said she felt as if she had lost a child. This comment brings to mind Isabel's comment on the third stage of a parent-child relationship, when roles become reversed.

Natalie is more diligent than many young mothers in looking after old relatives. Young women usually prioritise their children and husbands, leaving their mothers or aunts to look after their ageing parents.

Infirmary often leads to a reduction of contact between the elderly person, friends and wider family, so that primary kin such as children and grandchildren are often the main and most intimate contacts an elderly person has.

When a grandparent is buried the sons, daughters(-in-law) and grandchildren are the chief mourners. Male relatives carry the coffin while female relatives lead the front of the funeral procession. Gareth, aged twelve, headed the coffin procession at his grandmother's funeral. His elder brothers, father and uncles carried the coffin. Gareth's mother, aunts and sisters led the mourners' procession. In the service Gareth's grandmother was remembered specifically as a good wife, mother, a faithful Christian and meeting attendee, and as a good grandmother.

SIBLINGS

Sibling relationships are very important in Balnamara, both between same sex and opposite sex siblings. Being blood relatives, they have a sense of moral and social obligation towards each other which should theoretically over-ride all personal differences.

Siblings are generally of a similar age and share so many age-related, personal and family experiences that a sibling

relationship is one of the strongest and long-lasting kin relationships individuals ever have.

A sibling relationship is not a "pure relationship" (Schneider, 1968, p.vi): it is also influenced by economic, social, religious and political factors. The level of altruism shown by a parent towards a child is not equalled in sibling relationships. Sibling relationships tend to be more generally based on equivalent amounts of support and yet apparent independence.

Siblings give each other emotional and practical support in all kinds of ways: this is discussed later.

In Balnamara, families with only one child are unusual. It is thought best for a child to have a sibling. 'Only-children' are commonly thought to be over-indulged by their parents, and to lack sibling support later in life.

Most young women hope for at least a boy and a girl. Families with two or three children are the most common. Financial constraints are given as reasons why not to have more children, but the lowest number thought desirable is two. Tam commented that nowadays, to give a child a good chance in life, two children were plenty. In Tam's grandparents' generation family sizes were much bigger, probably largely due to the unavailability of contraception.

Children are strongly encouraged, from a very early age, to care for younger or older siblings. Weaknesses of a fellow sibling should be defended, and a strong, supportive sibling relationship should be presented to other children in the village. Amanda constantly encouraged her son and daughter to regard each other as equals, for example, to share food and toys; she also tried to be equally responsive to each child, and would accuse family members of favouritism. She also encouraged them to play together and many of their friends have been shared friends.

The values Amanda tries to teach her children are village ones: she promotes a sense of equality and familihood, and discourages aggressive or openly competitive behaviour.

Rivalry and attention-seeking among siblings is recognised but discouraged. For example, Alasdair was jealous when his

grandmother spoke to his sister. Helen responded: "Fit's adee thit ye're wintin attention? Ee get as muckle attention as her".

Relatives and friends are careful not to favour one child more than another. The phrase "I'll mak ye baith/aa the same" is used frequently when something is being shared out (this is also echoed in my uncle's rhetoric of equality: "ee'll jist get a share lik aabody else", and in community discourse about the growing inequalities between those who have boat shares and those who don't). For example, when aunts bring sweets to nieces and nephews they are given the same brands: this prevents any sense of rivalry for attention or goods, and should encourage a sense of equality and unity between the children.

Children are encouraged to 'look after one another', both within and especially outwith the home, such as at school, or among groups of friends. My brother and I are still encouraged to 'look efter een anither', particularly now that our parents are dead. Siblings are thought to be the most important source of natal family support once parents have died.

Despite this theory of relations many siblings encounter problems in their relationships. Amanda was distressed that she had always had a competitive, inharmonious relationship with her brother: he saw her and her husband and children as a rival for family affection and material resources. This led to a rift in their relationship with each other, and with their spouses and families, and their parents. It also led to conflict about boat ownership and rights to family inheritance. However Amanda and Jack were unusual by having such a fractious relationship.

Rhetoric of the indissolubility of sibling bonds can be used to effect reconciliation, e.g. "Bleed's thicker thin watter" is a common phrase to assert the loyalty and value of family.

The closer in age the siblings are the more likely it is that the siblings will have a very strong relationship, although the relationship is just as likely to depend on character complementarity. When required to write an essay based on her earliest memories Anna repeatedly referred to her feelings about her brother. Anna also commented on how 'close' her own two

children were and compared their relationship to that between her and her brother.

Her brothers' feelings about her were very important to Anna's self-esteem: although she disliked others' criticisms of her she reacted worse to criticisms from her brother; indeed she occasionally rehearsed negative comments he had made to her in childhood. Anna appreciated visits from her brother. She treated him with great affection, and would 'mother' him by making him food and drink. Anna and her brother also valued the opinions of each other as members of a different sex: they gave each other personal advice on appearances (e.g. on clothing), and on relationships. Anna retained a strong interest in her brother's relationship with women and showed both protective and supportive feelings to him in her occasional teasing comments to him.

Amanda had a very positive relationship with her eldest brother, Calum, but not with Jack, who seemed to regard her as a rival. Calum was 'good' to her and was protective, she said, giving her money to buy things when she needed them; in return, she was supportive of him and advised him on his relationships with girlfriends. When going to a fisherman's dance Amanda advised him on clothes and styled his hair for him.

Anna and Amanda both tried to 'pair up' their brother with me. Both Anna and Amanda laughed self-consciously, but they claimed they were looking after their brothers', and my, best interests.

Parents and siblings are thus shown to promote the interests, both emotional and practical, of their children or fellow siblings. When brothers or sisters marry their siblings are given prominent, formal roles in the event, as bridesmaids, matrons of honour, best-men or page-boys. Along with the bride and groom's parents, siblings and their spouses occupy the front seats closest to the marrying couple. Nieces and nephews are bridesmaids and pageboys.

Unmarried brothers and sisters are invited to take a partner because weddings celebrate couples and kinship.

Other aspects of the marriage ceremony highlight the importance of the sibling bond. Sisters, along with their mothers, act as hostesses in the family home as presents are brought; sisters are, perhaps, rehearsing for their own marriages.

Siblings are expected to give expensive wedding presents. Present size depends on income, but presents can include large pieces of household equipment (e.g., a vacuum, cooker, settee and chairs, or microwave oven). Amanda gave her brother and his bride a microwave oven and two embroidered pictures which Amanda spent months making. Her son George, who was three years old and was to be a pageboy, also gave a large gift.

Michael, who as eldest son had always tried to give financial help to both of his younger siblings, continued to give his siblings, and particularly their children, gifts; they expected him to because he was a bachelor with no dependants and should thus treat them as if he were a parent both to them as adults and to their children.

Marriage can mark a time of significant change in siblings' relationships, particularly if they are of the opposite sex, or are both male. If one or both are male then the marrying person ceases to be resident in the same house and because one will be fishing during the week, contact at weekends is further reduced by not living in the same house. The person getting married is also expected to show greater allegiance to their new spouse than to siblings or other family members, but if they are sisters they will see a great deal of each other during the week. Two married sisters said they saw a lot less of their brother since he married, but they saw a great deal of each other.

A newly married sister often invites a single sister to sleep in the new marital home during the week to keep her company and thus ease the transition from parental home to marital home. An unmarried sister still living at home will go to her married sister's house in the evening and can enjoy, vicariously, a sense of independence from the family.

The newly-married couple encourage siblings to visit them: during the week while only the wife is at home it is easy for sisters, brothers or sisters-in-law, to visit; but a brother-in-law's

visit would be more 'awkward' as they are not blood relatives and are not covered by the sexual taboo governing blood relatives. Once fishermen retire they visit siblings regularly, especially if they live in the same village and live alone. Hamish made it part of his morning walk routine to visit his widowed sister, often staying only a few minutes to reassure himself that she and her family were well.

It is normally unthinkable for a sister or brother to pass the door of a sibling, if they live in different villages, without calling in.

Alison looked highly embarrassed when her sister Linda discovered that she had been in the village and hadn't visited her. Linda said to Alison that she assumed Alison would visit the following week; her 'assumption' was in fact a demand for attention from Alison. When Linda and I passed by where Alison worked Linda said we had better 'drop in' as she couldn't be sure Alison wouldn't hear that we had been in town.

Many siblings are in touch on a daily basis, particularly if they are both shore-based, or if one has health or other problems. They provide family support for one another, particularly in times of family crisis.

Sibling relationships are formally celebrated on festive occasions: during Christmas Alison, Linda and Alex invite each other to their houses for meals. The occasions are always talked about with much pleasure.

These occasions can also be stressful, particularly if there are underlying tensions. Amanda, for example, enjoyed her aunt's family party but found talking to her quarrelsome brother and his wife highly stressful. However, although Amanda and her brother fought repeatedly, they visited each other at Christmas or New Year, dressing up and enjoying the event.

The segregation of the sexes during the week militates against close relationships developing between sibling in-laws of the opposite sex.

Siblings and in-laws often share a work connection: it is not uncommon for brothers-in-law to work on the same boat, particularly on small family-crewed boats. Kinship, theoretically, makes for a more stable crew: for example, Hamish said his

brother-in-law was a 'jewel of a man' - they never disagreed as skipper and mate.

Kinship usually means that in disputes there is less likely to be long-term damage: Jim argued with his brother-in-law, the skipper, and insulted him in ways which none of the rest of the crew would have dared: they would have been sacked.

Crewing together helps strengthen the relationship between the related men and their wives.

Some siblings and/or in-laws holiday together. Hamish and Alex, brothers-in-law and boat partners, organised a trip to Norway which was both a business trip and a holiday with their wives. Brigid and her sister-in-law Ellen often go for short caravan holidays together with their young families, usually when their husbands are at sea.

A woman may find it difficult to visit her sister-in-law when her brother is not at home, feeling that she might be intruding, especially if her sister-in-law has kin and friends to visit frequently. Martina complained that her sisters-in-law seldom came to visit her; ironically, they complained that, although they visited each other regularly, their sister-in-law seldom visited either of them.

However, frequently sisters-in-law have very good relationships. Brigid and her sisters-in-law were very fond of each other. She was particularly friendly with her husband's brother's wife, and they regularly shared fishing and family information, food, company and help with child-care.

Relationships are always personality-dependent, but in some cases it seems it was easier for two women married to two brothers to be supportive in-laws than for two women, one of whom is married to a brother of the other female, to be in-laws. There is perhaps less competition for affection of the male.

Sisters-in-law may also discuss their marital problems, recognising that their husbands represent a family of which they are not full members. Betty and Chris often discussed the difficulties of having a good relationship with their husbands' sisters.

Sisters may be regarded by sisters-in-law as 'cliquish'. Yet a partner will seldom openly criticise a spouse's siblings. In rare cases of open feuding a woman takes the part of her husband against her brother, even though privately she may disagree with her husband.

Gillian and Wendy complained that their sister-in-law constantly prevented them from having arguments with their brother, denying them their previous right to fight with siblings; yet their husbands always left them to settle their disputes themselves.

Will had an argument with his brother-in-law, Jack. Jack's sister Amanda, Will's wife, supported her husband, in spite of objections from Jack, his wife Jan, and disapproval from Amanda and Jack's parents and brother. This resulted in a family rift which affected relationships between four generations of the family.

Pregnancy is greeted as a reaffirmation and development of the kin group. Aunts and uncles have special access to, and privileges to care for, a niece/nephew as they, ideologically, symbolise second parents.

Martina wished that her sister-in-law could have fallen pregnant at the same time so that they could share experiences as mothers and so that their children would develop a strong, peer relationship, replicating the closeness of their sibling parents.

Some brothers or sisters will certainly know of and may visit their brother- or sister-in-law's relatives, thus extending their family connections.

When two siblings and their partners meet the males and females generally form separate conversation groups. Men discuss fishing while the women discuss home and village or 'people news'.

General conversation among the couples can be a serious discussion of the fishing industry, family or village events, or light-hearted banter which often will involve a lot of teasing.

Cross-gender tension is dissipated by teasing accusations of flirtation or of cliquish friendships: for example, when Hamish spoke to his sister-in-law for some time on the phone and laughed a lot, Linda said "If me an Bill [her brother-in-law] wis awa [dead], at twa wid be the-gither!"

AUNTS AND UNCLES

The relationship between aunts, uncles, nieces and nephews should be strong, affectionate and supportive; and it should be established, crucially, when the children are young. Aunts and uncles are expected to treat their nieces and nephews almost as their own children and may be called on to care for them like parents in emergencies. When my mother died her three siblings agreed to bring up one of each of us with their own children.

When I moved to Balnamara locals commented that my aunts and uncles should treat me like a daughter and take me to live with them. When I found a house locally people were puzzled as to why I didn't stay with an aunt and uncle.

Because I had no parents or husband I was publicly referred to by my kin links to aunts, uncles and cousins, and to one aunt in particular: she and her husband became, symbolically, my mother and father. I was frequently introduced as 'X's niece'; and this appellation was sometimes followed by my mother's name, "X's niece, Isabel's quine". The use of "quine" especially indicated not only my youth but my dependency, perhaps vulnerability, and it evoked an emotional, caring response among villagers. As one villager saw it I had come back to live where my forebears came from, to be with 'my folk'.

Not only should my aunt and uncle take an interest in a relative, but so should the community.

My aunt worried about my chances of getting work and accommodation locally. When I found a house to rent my aunt organised a house cleaning party comprising of her sisters, her sister-in-law, and their daughters - a task which normally a mother would organise.

The relationship between an aunt and her niece depends, to some extent, on the relationship between the aunt and the niece's related parent. If the niece's mother and the aunt are sisters, it is likely that the sibling relationship will have promoted co-operation and shared experience, so that the aunt and niece know each other well. This can be true for an aunt and her sister's son, although men are expected to prefer other men's company.

Alison commented that she missed her sister's son's visits: she was very fond of him, and he had been a regular visitor. Like her sister, Frank's mother, she blamed his girlfriend for the break in their relationship. Thus, in a sense, aunts may see themselves as playing a role similar to their niece/nephew's mother.

It is possible that an aunt and her sister's children will have stronger relationships generally than an aunt and her brother's children because female siblings generally have a closer relationship than do sisters-in-law.

Sally's first child died in infancy. She later explained that the child would have been the same age as her niece, Tania. This may have partly explained why Sally was so fond of Tania.

Sally was very proud of Tania and of the relationship Tania had with Sally's second daughter, Ingrid: they were, said Sally, like sisters, a comment which also indicates the closeness of what she saw, perhaps, as her aunt/mother role overlap.

Aunts commonly look after nieces and nephews, either for a few hours, or overnight. Children often go for 'holidays' to their aunt and uncle's home, staying in a spare room, or, more commonly, sharing with the aunt and uncle's own children.

An aunt and uncle may constrain the child's behaviour but not physically punish the child. Aunts and uncles treat their nieces and nephews well, but they are less likely to over-indulge the child(-ren) than is a grandparent, seeing themselves as like parents of the niece/nephew rather than as indulgent grandparents. For example, Sue told me she had warned her niece Tina against marrying a certain man. Nor did she approve of Tina, then in her thirties, smoking. Sue said Tina's mother would not tell her much about her niece's life. Sue felt embarrassed that she had to find out from other people.

However Sue failed to recognise her sister's embarrassment and guilt that her children did not behave in a 'conventional' way and that this was why Bess denied her sister information. Bess's confidence in her abilities as a mother was very low: Bess felt that criticism of her children was criticism of her family and her parenting skills.

Agnes and Ted also frequently voiced their disapproval of Tina's behaviour. They disapproved of how she dressed (unconventionally, and in a sexually-provocative way), of her attitude to her child (she 'neglected' him by living as if she were single), of her attitude to men (she failed to make a stable marriage), and of her attitude to her family (she seldom visited them). When Tina remarried she invited only those aunts and uncles who had not openly disapproved of her behaviour. This 'exclusion' of aunts and uncles at a niece's wedding was unheard of in the village. Tina thus rejected the power traditionally ascribed to aunts and uncles to comment on her personal morals and behaviour.

The birth of nieces or nephews can strengthen the sibling or in-law relationship because aunts and uncles usually visit regularly, bringing presents and showing the children affection. When John was born his aunts gave his parents a large gift of a crib. They knitted clothes for him, bought him toys, and gave his mother as much emotional and practical support as they could.

Aunts and uncles pay regular visits to nieces and nephews, bringing presents of sweets, and, on calendar occasions, presents such as Easter eggs or Christmas selection boxes. Clothes also are given at Christmas. This present-giving continues until the child is a wage-earner or gets married. When their children are born aunts and uncles often treat great-nieces and great-nephews in similar ways to their nieces and nephews.

There is much public approval of good aunt-uncle-niece-nephew relations. An unmarried uncle or aunt is expected to be particularly 'doting' on nieces and nephews: it is assumed that they have spare cash and will have such a longing for children of their own that they will treat nieces and nephews as substitutes. Jim, unmarried and twenty-one, described very powerful emotions he felt for his nieces and nephews. He spent large amounts of money on buying them presents at Christmas and on birthdays and visited them frequently. Frank, unmarried and aged twenty-seven, bought large, expensive Christmas presents for his nephews.

Jim was particularly fond of his favourite sister's children. Jim may have regretted his displacement as his sister's favourite male in favour of her husband, so that part of his affection was transferred to his nieces.

My aunt and her husband constantly invited me to visit them. They always teased me for not having visited them earlier, saying, for example: "Faar hiv ee been? We hinna seen ye". My uncle frequently reassured me "Ye're welcome any time", or would tease me with "Here come i excuses!"; "There's aye a place for ye at i table", or "Ee'll jist get a share o fit's gaan". As he was an uncle only by marriage his reassurance and demonstration of a voluntary sense of obligation to me was very touching.

My aunt appreciated visits and phone-calls when at home alone during the week. She was very affectionate, seeing me as a sort of daughter, but did not want to offend me by asking the questions she would ask a daughter: during one phone-call she asked me what my day's plans were, then asked if it was alright to ask, then laughed. The definitions of our relationship were at times very blurred. My aunt also phoned another niece regularly, but she did not expect her to visit her so often because her niece was married and had her own mother and set of in-laws to communicate with.

My aunt often rang me to ask me to lunch. She would frequently make one of my favourite foods as an incentive to visit. She would ask me to fetch her things from the local shop, such as papers, milk or fruit, on my way to her house. She was often disappointed that I didn't stay for longer: she enjoyed having company and wanted me to stay most of the day.

She would occasionally phone to ask if she could visit me in the evening. I would invite her to tea and would prepare some of her favourite foods. She would bring her knitting, planning to stay for some time.

I found it difficult to cope with comments which showed she felt that I preferred the company of peers to her. Other mothers criticised their daughters on occasion for preferring the intimacy of friends to their mothers, but in my aunt's case she knew that she too needed the company of friends.

My aunt's sense of duty towards her husband, children, grandchildren and elderly relations always took precedence over anything else. If my invite to her clashed with her family's requirements she would decline, or would feel guilty about enjoying herself. If her husband was to ring her from the boat she would not stay very long. When her father-in-law died after a long, protracted illness she felt enormously guilty that she missed the first phone call to tell her he had died.

Because I was single and not working I could visit my aunt more regularly than could any of her other nieces and nephews. After I had left Balnamara my aunt told me that she missed me very much. She and her husband were looking to move house out of the village to be nearer their daughter as they both felt a lack of close family tie in the village.

Nieces and nephews visit only irregularly once they become adults and have children. My aunt was always delighted when a niece or nephew came to visit and was delighted to extend the family relationship to their spouses.

I tried to visit other aunts and uncles regularly. Consequently I was privileged with family news. My other cousins were almost all married and were less mobile than I.

I had good relations with my aunts and uncles, but my 'in-laws' usually supposed that my primary interest lay in their spouses, my blood relatives. My aunt Christian always apologised immediately if "yer uncle John" was not available; this was in spite of my equally familiar relationship with her. Another uncle (in-law) appeared flustered if his wife, my aunt, were out and he would try to delay my visit until she returned home.

The visit of a relative is an occasion to mark, particularly once junior family members have grown up.

Such a visit can be a semi-informal occasion. Many of my cousins visit aunts and uncles once or twice annually and will phone their aunts and uncles first to ask if it is convenient to visit. Often they wear 'good' clothes. Aunts and uncles will lay out good biscuits and tea, and the visitors are taken into the front living room, or at least time will be set apart to socialise together. Relatives constantly regret that contact is so infrequent. A niece or

nephew's children are pampered and are encouraged to call their parent's aunt and uncle aunt and uncle also.

Relatives often see a family resemblance between their children. These similarities in physical appearance and character are discussed and this strengthens the sense of connection between them. Dan, for example, had a close relationship with his uncle: he proudly recalled to his uncle the numerous comments his parents made of how alike they were: "Ma mither says we're affa alike, you an me, Sandy". Dan loved to talk about his uncle to friends and other relatives who knew Sandy well.

My aunt and I occasionally went for day trips; we were not only aunt and niece, but friends.

The niece-aunt relationship is also one which involves joint labour: for example, if an aunt needs help to do something in the house, for her family or for the community (e.g. bake for a church meeting or a village sale of work), she can call on her niece's assistance. Similarly, a niece can ask her for help when e.g., moving house, or for baby-sitting.

The uncle-nephew relationship is similarly supportive and often involves, in theory, a work element: for example, nephews can enquire about boat berths through their uncles.

Often the aunt-niece relationship will extend to aunt-great-niece, although the great-aunt is often physically less able to participate in a relationship than she was when first an aunt.

Linda hoped that Brigid's children would regard her as a sort of grandmother figure: on one occasion she positively encouraged one of Brigid's children to call her 'granny'. Linda's age, and the fact that Linda's own grandchildren were the same age as Brigid's grandchildren, made the role of grandmother, rather than aunt, more appropriate.

My aunt was a diligent visitor of her ageing aunts, acting as a daughter, especially if there were no daughters(-in-law) living nearby. My aunt phoned her aunts regularly and spent many evenings with them.

My aunt would visit her aunts during the week, when her husband was at sea and she wanted company, or with her husband at weekends. They maintain a concerned eye for signs

of loneliness or illness. Other nieces and nephews visited as if they were daughters and sons.

Younger relatives encourage elderly relatives to live independently but they keep in close contact with them. While on the one hand Fiona's aunt is a 'peer craitur', on the other she is 'as [so] independent' and is encouraged to be so.

COUSINS

Siblings encourage their children to build strong relationships with their cousins, treating them almost as brothers and sisters. This is particularly evident where siblings are very close, when siblings live near each other and have a lot of contact, and when siblings have children of roughly the same age. Siblings will often identify common physical and character features of their children. Common features are traced often through three generations of siblings/parents, grandparents, great aunts and uncles.

Kinship is frequently also traced to second and third cousins, but relationships with first cousins are generally stronger and entail a greater number of duties and obligations.

FIRST COUSINS

First cousin relationships are very important: when Amanda and her brother stopped communicating Amanda was very upset, primarily because her son would lose contact with his cousin. Cousins are encouraged to get to know each other as if they were siblings.

Cousins often spend weekends and 'holidays' together. I remember every weekend visiting and playing with my first cousins. Female and male cousins often play in separate groups, especially once they have gone to school and have formed sex differentiated social groups.

Cousins will be encouraged by a parent/aunt/uncle to share their toys, food, and even their clothes and bed as if they were siblings. Such frequent and intimate contact contributes to strong bonds throughout adolescence and adulthood.

My aunt claimed that cousins of various degrees of relatedness knew each other better in her childhood in the 1940's as many of them lived in the same or a nearby house. Increased geographical and social mobility since the 1950's, among other factors, have led to a dilution of degree of contact and knowledge of relatives. Whereas Linda played with cousins of different degrees of relatedness, her own grandchildren live in a different town from all their first, second and third cousins.

Good relations across generations of cousins is encouraged, although first cousin relationships are the most common kind of cousin relationship because of their parents' sibling connection. First cousins' children are also encouraged to play together and to form close friendships, particularly if the first cousins get on well. My cousin strongly encouraged me to develop good relationships with her sons.

First cousins baby-sit for cousins' children, particularly if they are single.

SECOND AND THIRD COUSINS

Most people are aware of who their second or third cousins are: they hear older family members discussing the relationships and will meet them at weddings and funerals.

Although I remembered my first cousins very well, I remembered some of my second and third cousins only vaguely. My mother visited her siblings and their families frequently so I had a good knowledge of my first cousins. Those third cousins I did remember were the children of parents whom my mother was very fond of and therefore visited frequently. When I first went to live in Balnamara several people approached me to explain that they were a second or third cousin of my mother's. They always were very friendly towards me, explaining the inter-connections between our families so that our friendship could benefit from our relatedness.

Recalling relatedness created an instant sense of friendship and trust. On several occasions I was over-whelmed by the emotional response I received from cousins. David, my third cousin, was delighted to renew our relationship and recalled shared

experiences of when we were very young. He repeated stories and circumstances involving both our families which showed that he had discussed this with his parents. He described me as his 'long-lost cousin'.

David introduced me to another third cousin, teasing him "Div ye nae ken yer ain folk?" He added "I'm jist showin ma cousin aboot". He took responsibility for extending my knowledge of his family and acted as my advocate to unknown relatives.

It seemed irrelevant to him that we were third, not first, cousins.

He scolded his uncle, my mother's second cousin, for not inviting me, his "ain folk", to his daughter's wedding, despite the fact that third cousins are not always invited to third cousins' weddings.

He frequently talked about areas of common interest and particularly about common relatives and friends. He also recalled his family history and asked about mine.

It is not uncommon for people to recall their relatedness by tracing their common ancestors. My grandmother and her best friends regularly reminded themselves and their visitors that they were all 'double' first cousins: their parents were three sisters who married two brothers. In addition, these women had all gone to the gutting together in the 1930's. Their friendships continued throughout their lives as they shared marriage and child-rearing experiences and as their spouses and children also became good friends.

Although my aunts and uncles knew their second and third cousins they did not frequently socialise with them or be automatically invited to their cousins' children's weddings.

The ranking of degrees of cousinhood can be seen at weddings.

Aunts, uncles, and first cousins are always invited to the wedding of the bride and groom. The first cousins of the bride and groom's parents are usually invited, but this is not necessary, and a selection of cousins (one from each of the marrying couple's parents' family groups of second cousins) may be invited. Linda, a second cousin of the groom's father, was puzzled that she had been invited to none of his children's weddings, although each of her sisters had been invited on separate occasions as a representative of the sibling family.

At a family wedding I was told that our families, who shared the same surname as a maiden or male surname of Alexander, were 'affa close'. There were not many of us, and we should all stick together, I was told.

At a wedding of someone with an Alexander parent most of the 'Ishies' (tee-name), many of whom are second and third cousins, will be present. The men often stand together, discussing the fishing. Male and female cousins visit each other at their tables to talk, sharing family news.

Funerals are also very important events for showing the strength of kin networks. All Ishie relatives, or a member from each sibling group, will attend an Ishie funeral. If the deceased is a first cousin men normally do not go fishing so that they can attend the funeral. If a male cousin has to go to sea his wife will attend on his behalf. If the death is unexpected the cousin will almost certainly attend to practically demonstrate a stronger level of support.

CONCLUSION

This chapter stresses the importance of the family in community life in Balnamara. Families provide their members with personal friendships and networks of social and economic support. The family is seen as a microcosm of the village. People define the boundaries of their community by continuing to assert that all the fisher folk in the village are related, unlike those incomers who have no kin connection with the village and who fishers do not accept as locals.

Women's relationships with relatives differ from those of men because they have different gender roles which involve a need for daily support. Women are also responsible for keeping networks of kin relationships alive for the benefit not only of the married couple as individuals, but also for the benefit of their children. Thus the idea of kinship is central to the community's sense of itself as an economic force and as a distinctive social and cultural unit.

Women's roles as mothers and 'kin-connectors' lead to their image as more emotional beings: this is associated both with

strength and weakness and is both empowering and debilitating, strengthening women's ability to feel positive about their capacity to cope with traditionally 'female' roles but denying them the confidence to develop other roles. Young women complain that their mothers, not their husbands, are the most influential in denying them the opportunity to explore other roles by undermining their confidence in their traditional roles and by denying them moral and practical baby-sitting support. Women are constrained by their family in order to replicate the social structure, which itself is based on a model of the community being a family, which women maintain.

Primary kin relationships between siblings, parents, parents' siblings, children and grandparents continue to carry the greatest economic, emotional and practical significance for couples in Balnamara.

First cousins are more significant as friends and allies in the community, and as potential sources of economic knowledge, even when geographical and social factors distinguish them from each other.

Second and third cousins are increasingly likely to be more akin to acquaintances than friends or obvious sources of economic or social support, but they still symbolically carry much of their previous significance and can be 'reactivated' when necessary. In-laws may also be very important, but these relationships rely on a sense of mutual obligation and consent.

Kin relationships emphasise equality and support of an emotional, practical and a financial nature. Although now there is less emphasis or perception of need of practical kin support emotional support is still vital to kin relationships. However there is in fact a great deal of potential for individual interpretation of obligations and rights.

Relationships between nuclear family members are reflected in wider kin relationships: for example, aunts and uncles have parental roles towards their nieces and nephews to provide a network of potential economic and emotional support; and cousins can provide the intimacy and support of siblings.

Although opportunities for people to be of economic assistance to one another have diminished in the late twentieth century the symbolic value of such relations has not, it appears, decreased. The reflection of nuclear relationships in wider family networks ultimately gives a sense of wider community relationships: villagers continue to reiterate that, ultimately, everyone in the village is related.

FRIENDSHIP

INTRODUCTION

In Balnamara female relatives and friends are the two most important sources of daily support and intimacy in a woman's life. In the following chapter I consider my Balnamara female friends' definitions of different kinds of friendship. These definitions reflect the distinctions which women make between family and the wider community, thus demonstrating that friends are assimilated into one another's lives as if they were sisters to each other and aunts to each other's children, rather than being members of the wider community.

I also show that many of the factors affecting the formation and history of family relationships (see **WOMEN AND FAMILY NETWORKS**) also affect women's friendships. The resultant emphasis in friendships is on trust built up through long acquaintanceship to ensure intimacy and confidentiality.

Friendships are therefore valuable avenues of self-expression in a community which puts emphasis on conformity to roles and in the suppression of difference. Friendships can therefore act as counter-foils to the pressures women face in their other roles as housewife, mother, relative, wife and social participant, precisely because they are not related.

DEFINITIONS

Allan (1989), O'Connor (1992), Willmott (1987) and Duck and Perlman (1985), among others, have commented that until recently, friendship has been treated by most academic disciplines as a personal matter which has little social significance or consequence. However friendship has been central to my collection of qualitative ethnographic material, and to my ethnographic analysis. Friendship is a key medium of information for both ethnographer and informant (see **GOSSIP** in

WOMEN AND SOCIAL NETWORKS) and is itself a local category of social relationship in Balnamara.

The neglect of the study of friendship may be partially explained by the fact that its meanings and forms are not only socially and culturally variable (Allan, 1987, p28), but personally variable.

Friendships are governed by rules of relevancy which are not easily discernible to the rest of society (Paine, 1974, p.122).

Academic writers, like their interviewees, find it difficult to define friendship and to discriminate clearly between different types of friendship (O'Connor, 1992, pp.22-23).

Another difficulty in describing the importance of friendships is that friendships are dynamic. They change according to personal needs and are influenced by factors such as age and personal experience.

Yet another possible reason for the lack of detailed analysis of individual variation in definitions and meanings of the term 'friend' may be a lack of self-reflexivity in researchers' experience and in their observations of friendships. The efforts of social researchers to define their data as objective and to describe themselves as objective is now considered to be naive (see Okely and Callaway, 1992). Also, the fear of self-exposure and the exposure of others whom one cares for in social science research may partly explain why anthropologists have not written about the importance of their friendships and the importance of other friendships to those they study.

Perhaps the most major difficulty in considering the significance of friendship lies in how to define the nature of friendship. In Balnamara friendships may encompass practical support, but are more likely to consist of emotional and moral support. It is, however, difficult to say if emotional and moral support are qualities or practical things and to say if they can be measured.

Leyton, however, appears quite sure of his definition of friendship: it is "a form of social relationship which is more practical than sublime, more social compact than mystical union" (1974, Intro.1X). I found it impossible to agree completely with Leyton's definition, given the variety and nature of my friends' and my own definitions of friendships in Balnamara. Emotional

and moral support were the principal defining features of our friendships, especially in close friendships. There was an element of practical support in them too: we would share meals or baby-sit; and the emotional support in itself helped us to cope better in practical ways. I do not think that the 'mystical union' concept was entirely missing either, or else how would we account for developing close friendships in such unpromising circumstances? In Balnamara friendships are life-long relationships (c.f. Leyton, 1974, Intro.1X). There is clear approval of intense affective bonds.

Children are encouraged to form close friendships from a very early age with both kin and non-kin as their families are generally well-known to parents. Balnamara is a small community where privacy is assiduously guarded; so intimacy and trust are the products of a long emotional investment and are consequently highly valued. Incomers consequently experience difficulties in developing strong affective ties with local people, whether or not they marry into the community.

THE IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS

Anna explains the importance of friendships to her: she says "Ma freens are jist lik faimily ti me", and "parents an freens are really the maist important, ken, ti me" (TR.26, AW).

Parents and friends are the "adult company" Anna says she needs during the week when she feels lonely, bored and frustrated doing housework and taking care of her children (TR.22, AW).

Parents, sisters and friends provide the practical and emotional support that a husband cannot because he is absent (see, also, previous chapter, **WOMEN AND FAMILY NETWORKS**).

Through close family relationships and close friendships women in Balnamara replicate on an every-day basis the levels of companionship, intimacy, trust and support which women might expect in their relationships with their husbands. The absence of their spouses does not entirely explain women's need for friendships but it does influence the content and degree of intimacy in the friendships.

Equating friends with members of one's family suggests that some family members and friends perform similar functions, most importantly by providing a sense of intimacy and companionship. However there can be differences in the two types of relationship, depending on the history of the relationship and other factors such as age, personality and other roles. For example, Anna comments that there are some things which she could never discuss with her mother, particularly sex. Anna could discuss sex with close friends or a sister. Anna feels in particular that her mother would try to restrict the development of Anna's ideas if they were different from her own, or if the idea threatened family stability.

Burrige's idea that kinship and friendship are mutually supportive, releasing tension from the other, is attractive (Burrige, quoted by Paine, 1974, p.9). My relatives occasionally talked about their close friendships when occasions of disagreement arose; and friends talked about difficult family relationships to close friends.

Other reasons to approach a friend rather than a relative for intimacy and support include: the family member might not be available, or they might not have experience of the issue (Allan, 1987, p.80).

Anna did seem, however, to discuss certain things first with her mother and, sometimes, later with her close friends. Such topics included family decisions which were likely to affect the family's social or economic status. Anna was more likely to discuss issues of largely personal consequence with her close friends.

The formal ties of kinship and marriage and the requirements and constrictions entailed in them are not repeated in the same way in voluntary friendships; thus friendships provide an avenue for the discussion of these other roles as well as a general opportunity to gain other personal benefits (see below).

O'Connor (1992, p.171) asks the interesting question of whether there is a unique quality to friendship, or whether in fact friendship is similar to sisterhood or lesbianism. In Balnamara this question has particular relevance given the emphasis put on family support and single-sex friendships.

There are several examples of women who are very 'close' to their sisters; all of them also have friends whom they call 'best freens'. The closeness between sisters and between best friends was impossible to judge or compare. None relied entirely on only friends or family. They chose to rely on one or the other for often different purposes, and on different members within their groups of close friends and relatives on different occasions. None explicitly identified a quality in their friendships which made them unique from a relationship with a close family member such as a sister. Women did say that the one thing which made friendships and certain kin relationships special was the opportunity to feel that they could talk about almost anything and feel they would not be rejected, that the other person would understand. This is discussed in greater detail below.

The terms 'close friend' and 'close relative' were interchangeable on a symbolic level: this was reflected in how women told their children to call their friend 'aunty', or how women said a particular best friend was 'like a sister' to them. This use of family terminology reflects the emphasis generally in Balnamara on family ideology and the organisation of social relations around kinship models (Du Bois, 1974, p.31) (see previous chapter, **WOMEN AND FAMILY NETWORKS**).

Just as close friendship is expressed as an ideal as much as a reality, so is the concept of sisterhood: both a sister and a friend should behave, when necessary, altruistically. Friendship and sisterhood are idealised as irreplaceable, as having a long past and future history, and as being unbreakable (Allan, 1987, pp.27 & 104).

Kinship and friendship, however, differ in that kin relationships are involuntary and entail more 'structurally-embedded' requirements for practical and emotional support; friendships are voluntary and entail mainly expectations of emotional support. This 'voluntary' element in friendship particularly may be the factor which makes friendship different from sisterhood.

In Balnamara no-one discounted the possibility of sisters or relatives having a personal relationship which involved the exposure of the self in more ways than normal in relationships.

The quality of intimacy which was associated with and prized in friendships was also, theoretically, found in some kin relationships. At the same time no-one seemed to believe that any individual ever exposed, or could expose, every facet of their thoughts and behaviour to any individual, spouse, relative or close friend.

Perhaps the most important points to be made in any analysis of friendship and its relation to models of kinship are: that relationships depend on a number of factors, that different factors matter at different times, and that the sought-after element, quality or type of support may be construed differently by different people at different times as belonging more to one personal relationship than to another.

DEFINITIONS

Writers and their interviewees alike have found it difficult to define the term 'friendship' and what it means to them (Allan, 1989, p.3). As Allan says (1987, p.28), the more one tries to define friendship the more it is hopelessly reduced to a narrow cultural form. Thus there are at least as many definitions of friendship as there are relationships and individuals.

Just as individuals change, so do friendships: friendships are dynamic, and change according to the experiences and needs, among other things, of the friends. This increases the difficulties of defining friendship.

Although all friendships are important for different reasons most women prioritise certain friendships over others, in the same way that they may prioritise certain roles over others.

Anna said she was "closer" to some friends than to others. She described three different levels of 'closeness' in her own friendships, but pointed out that within these three levels the reasons for, feeling and degree of closeness differed; and that everyone had different needs and definitions of friendship.

Anna had three "close freens", one friend whom she was "fairly close ti", and two others whom she was "freenly" with but had "nae trust in". Others she described as "acquaintances" (see below).

'Close' suggests a quality of intimacy which is not present in less significant friendships and is not necessarily present in kin or neighbour relationships (Allan, 1989, p.16). The term 'close' describes primarily an emotional state, suggesting intimacy and trust. These definitions apply to the first two categories of friends, but not to the third or fourth. The term 'close' may also be applied to primary family members (parents, siblings and some cousins), indicating a significant level of emotional (and practical) support (see previous chapter).

When I asked Anna what she meant by 'close' she explained it as a feeling that she could tell her closest friends anything and know that she could trust them not to repeat it, and that they would not attack her for saying it.

When I asked Anna if she regarded her mother as a close friend she said no, that she and her mother were "nae affa close": her mother did not give Anna as much emotional and practical support as Anna wanted. However, some women are, Anna said, very close to their mothers and would regard their mother as a close friend because they could rely on a level of altruistic support. Thus knowing that the other person will support you if they can is also a mark of a 'close' friendship.

Anna suggested that a mother can be judgmental of her daughter, who will therefore not feel free to discuss ideas with her. When I suggested to Anna that there were, however, things which she would discuss with her parents first before a best friend, Anna denied this. (However, generally in the village it was assumed that parents were told first of news affecting the family structure, such as marriage or pregnancy; and parents were usually consulted in serious financial considerations. I suggest that it would be no different for Anna in these instances).

Natalie, like Anna, has two close friends and several others whom she is 'fairly close ti', as well as having acquaintances.

The difference for both women between close friends and those they are 'fairly close ti' was very difficult for them to describe. Both said they trusted their 'fairly close' friends with a lot of personal information but did not feel as relaxed and 'like themselves' as they did when with close friends.

The women Anna is 'freenly wi' but has 'nae trust in' include women with whom she exercised, and who were part of a car-pool to take their children to classes. Anna hoped that when she invited one woman from her exercise class to come with her to an evening class they might become closer friends; but her companion was competitive and thus ruined the opportunity for developing a close friendship.

The friends whom women are 'fairly close ti' are less close because of a lack of shared history and mutual knowledge, but are, potentially, close friendships.

'Acquaintances' are women in the village whom Anna meets when attending events or while out of the house, but, as Anna explains, "although ye've kent them aa yer life, ye dinna really ken them at weel" (TR.18, AW). Thus acquaintances are people whom Anna might see regularly but to whom she does not disclose sensitive information because she does not know if she can trust them or if they will understand her.

Contact with acquaintances is important for making one feel part of a community of people who share a life-style based around a common livelihood.

Acquaintances represented a general sense of social connectedness and a source of knowledge: and they are a potential source of children who may be close friends with their children.

SOCIAL CONTACT BETWEEN DIFFERENT TYPES OF FRIENDS

Different levels of intimacy in friendships are indicated by such things as where the friends socialise, and by the amount of and significance attached to time spent together. Acquaintances are associated with external space, such as outside the home, at clubs, on the streets and in shops. Acquaintances do not spend much time chatting to each other and conversation topics are of a general nature, such as general family news or community information. Friends who are quite close share both public and private space together, visiting one another occasionally, perhaps sharing couple meals, going to social events together, sharing

some private family information, and so on. Close friends, however, visit daily, or, as in Anna and Natalie's friendship, several times daily. The visits of close friends take place predominantly in their homes. The occasions are informal, unplanned and often brief. Conversation topics range from very intimate subjects to general news, and to offers of help. In my close friendships some visits lasted several hours, preceded or proceeded by phone-calls. Sometimes intended short visits stretched according to the needs of one or both friends, although visits were generally influenced by housework routines and children's needs. Close friends could try a sort of humorous emotional blackmail on occasion to get a friend to stay: Anna would insist I had another coffee, that I stayed for a meal, or she would tease me that I wouldn't refuse an aunt or elderly friend's request to stay, thus inferring that I did not value our friendship as highly as these other relationships.

Close friends visit at almost any time of day, although early morning visits and mealtimes are usually reserved for housework and child-care routines. Close friends particularly enjoy friends' company in the afternoons and late evenings, when they are less tied by household and child-care duties. These visits depend on the visiting friend finding a baby-sitter. Often friendship is celebrated in the evening by long chats, beverages and, occasionally, film-watching.

Close friends who live elsewhere are seen less often but effort is made to maintain weekly contact by phone and by other organised, regular contact. Lack of physical proximity does not seem to severely affect the significance attached to the close friendships: although Moira lives an hour's drive away from Anna they both feel they are still each other's closest friend because they can phone and talk to one another about the most intimate of subjects.

CLOSE FRIENDSHIPS

Anna lists the benefits of close friendship as companionship, fun, emotional and sometimes practical support. This description, taken with others she gave at different times, accords broadly

with Davis and Todd's typology of friendships (Davis and Todd, 1985 in O'Connor, 1992). Friends participate as equals, enjoy each other's company, have mutual trust in each other, can provide assistance and support, show mutual acceptance, respect and understand each other, can be spontaneous, or be themselves, and friends can be intimate by sharing experiences or by confiding in one another (Davis and Todd, 1985 in O'Connor, 1992). Although all of these definitions are inter-related they will be discussed individually below.

Close friendships give a sense of belonging: for example, Balnamara women who had moved elsewhere reported a sense of not belonging to the new community because they did not have close friendships. I felt and continue to feel connected to the village through my close friendships.

EQUALS

Friendship is, sociologists write, a relationship between equals (e.g. Allan, 1987, p.20). Equality, however, cannot be objectively measured, especially when discussing close friendships, as friends judge equality differently.

Equality is mainly an individual perception of needs met by both parties. Dissatisfaction can impair the growth or apparently end the life of the friendship. Theoretically there may be an objective imbalance in needs provision/reception, when compared to cultural definitions of equality, but the friends may still have a perception of reciprocity (Mauss, 1954).

Other interpretations of equality involve discussions about how social factors such as wealth, age, social background and gender affect friendships. These are discussed more fully below.

In Balnamara equality is a dominant ideal in social and economic discourse. Independence and individual effort are highly prized, as are generosity and social care; indeed both are perceived as being inter-related, producing a sense of equal distribution and equality. This is reflected in local perceptions of equality in friendships.

Individuals choose who they are friendly with and, because friendships are the least structurally embedded relationships of

all they are, theoretically, easily terminated (O'Connor, 1992, p.116). However, in practice, friendships are not so easily terminated as termination often has structural implications, rupturing relationships between families, other friends and work-mates.

ENJOYMENT AND COMPANIONSHIP

Allan argues that sociability is intrinsic to friendship; and that friendship's "main rationale is that the friends enjoy spending time .. doing what they do" (Allan, 1987, p.18). Hence friendships produce positive feelings about the self and the other person.

Anna regularly said that one of the best features of her close friendship with Natalie was that Natalie made her laugh. Her other close friend Maureen also made her laugh. They also explored new subjects and activities together and enjoyed the companionship of another adult.

Natalie and Maureen's friendships helped Anna cope with the ambiguities, contradictions and difficulties in everyday personal and social life.

MUTUAL TRUST

Trust is a major factor in all the women's descriptions of the definition of friendship. Women feel they have to be able to trust a close friend not to tell others private information which might cause offence to other parties or which would embarrass or socially disable the women.

Being able to trust a friend also means that a woman feels able to explore new ideas about herself, her family, and social roles in the community; and that, in crises, she can expect support and loyalty from a close friend. Natalie thought that no-one would comment on her behaviour to Anna because people knew she and Anna were very 'close', and that Anna would defend Natalie's reputation.

Trust in a friend is built on knowing them over a long period of time. Incomers therefore find it very difficult to make close friends among local people.

ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT

Equality is a key theme in all friendships but in a close friendship one partner might give greater support during crises, even if there is little likelihood that the same service will be returned.

Close friendships therefore entail a level of altruism which demonstrates an enduring commitment to the other's well-being, without heed to personal cost.

Most close friendships, however, do not feature or sustain a consistently high level of one-way emotional or practical support. In Balnamara I felt that I could not expect a close friend to constantly support me if I was unable to offer support in return. For example, Anna and I had many conversations about our lack of confidence and self-esteem but we could say little to Natalie as Natalie did not share our 'problem'.

Close friends, even if they do not share a particular experience, are expected to be aware of that concern and to offer some support: for example, although I didn't have children my close friends often talked about concerns they had about their children.

Although humility and modesty are encouraged people are expected to cope. Even if sometimes Anna feels incompetent as a mother she still asserts that she 'manages'. There are many phrases about coping alone: "Och ye'll surely manage.. ", "Will ye manage..?", and "I'll manage mase!".

The level of practical support close friends give each other varies between friends. Practical support is more likely to be given if they share similar circumstances and can give an equal exchange of labour. For example, women regularly baby-sit one another's children (as much because it is company for their children as it helps the mother), even just for a few minutes.

However grandparents are usually approached first if practical help is required. For example, when Anna's washing machine broke down I offered her use of my machine. Anna, though pleased to get the support, protested, saying that she would use her mother's machine. Eventually she agreed to let me wash the clothes. The next day Anna apologised to me, saying that it

wasn't good to be so independent. She felt she could have offended a friend.

MUTUAL ACCEPTANCE, RESPECT AND UNDERSTANDING

Mutual acceptance is a prerequisite for close friendship.

Frequent contact and therefore knowledge of different facets of a person's life helps build trust and confidence if a friend appears to accept and not criticise or gossip about her friend. A close friend both vocally and practically supports her friend by reassuring her that she would do things similarly, or that the friend is doing the best job possible.

Having similar backgrounds and social status helps to reassure a woman that her close friend will understand her difficulties.

Anna and Amanda constantly said that I must find them boring and unintelligent because of the differences in our educational backgrounds: they wanted reassurance that I valued them as they valued me.

My friends could show their admiration for what I had achieved as long as I valued their choices too. We had to feel we were 'equal' and that we were mutually respectful and supportive of each other.

On occasion this meant we had to try to understand a friend's course of action, even if we did not think her behaviour was what we would have chosen to do; and we had to convince others of the honest intention behind the friend's actions.

INTIMACY

In close friendships women share information with one another which they regard as personally or socially compromising. A close friend values intimacy by not revealing such compromising information. Close friends witness intimate detail of their friends' lives and personalities which normally only a spouse and close family are privy to.

Intimacy is built on trust, support and acceptance of differences (see above).

BEING YOURSELF

O'Connor argues that friendship "is the relationship *par excellence* of individuation" and that in close friendships friends reveal a sense of self which is closer to self-definition than any other representation of the self in other types of relationship (O'Connor, 1992, p.193).

Friendship, because it is less structurally embedded than other relationships (O'Connor, 1992, p.22), allows the individual greater freedom to comment on other relationships and people, and to express individually-held opinion, precisely because the friendship is vulnerable to termination if trust is betrayed.

O'Connor points out that there are, however, boundaries to self-expression within relationships, because context always influences content: a friend presents information in a certain way influenced by the context of who her audience is and what the history of their friendship has been (1992).

Close friends in particular support and influence a person's identity or sense of self: close friends become intimates who help friends explore ideas through discussion, support and the acceptance of variation in individual opinion.

Close friendships give support to the individual as she examines her feelings about her various roles and relationships: for example, my close friends discussed their levels of satisfaction with spouses, relatives and children.

As a close friend I felt I had to achieve the difficult balance of supporting a close friend while not condemning wholesale the other persons or structures which looked likely to continue to form part of my friends' lives. I was sure that they did likewise. Although friends criticise their spouses, children and parents, these ties are more structurally-embedded than are friendships; and forthright criticism would produce caution and defensiveness in later conversations.

Close friends usually expect confidentiality and support over serious issues such as marital problems; but advice is usually tempered by how honestly the giver thinks she is invited to respond.

Self-affirmation, O'Connor argues, is the primary characteristic of friendship, as friendship necessarily entails the affirmation of the friend that they are a worthwhile, competent person (O'Connor, 1992, pp.22-24). Friends are expected to support a friend, even on occasions when a friend disagrees with her friend's activities or opinions. Anna, for example, said to me that she disagreed with aspects of one of Natalie's friendships but Anna was anxious to support Natalie by influencing her behaviour in a beneficial manner and by protecting Natalie from public gossip. Anna did not hide her worry and disapproval; but she tried to influence Natalie to show more moderate behaviour by gently teasing and questioning her, and by tactfully indicating her lack of surety about the other's actions.

O'Connor (1992, p.21) quotes a number of writers who have shown that friendship allows for individual liberty but tempers it with a concern for family responsibility. My friends would explain that they would not go to a particular social event with friends if it might negatively affect their children or they felt they would be neglecting their husbands.

Anna complains that in Balmacara there is a strong influence to 'be like everyone else'. Thus Anna particularly enjoyed her friendships with Natalie, Moira and I because we understood or accepted her wish to do or see some things differently. Amanda wished to connect to ideas from outwith the village and enjoyed this aspect of my friendship, and that of others, with her.

Acceptance by a close friend is often enough to give a woman confidence to express a desire or move towards change.

A noteworthy feature of the close friendships I observed and took part in is the open discussion of alternative roles for women and men. Anna and Natalie are conscious of social pressure to see themselves as married women whose primary roles are as housewives, wives and mothers. Both their mothers seek to restrict their social activities when these take them away from these responsibilities. For example, their mothers will agree to babysit grandchildren grudgingly or even not at all; yet Anna would assert to me that she had to get out of the house for a while: she needed, despite her mother's opinion, 'time to herself'.

Anna and Natalie not only developed their leisure activities together, they also discussed the idea of finding a job or retraining, once their children had gone to school. Natalie and Anna discuss their needs and hopes, asserting their need for a sense of identity which is complementary but additional to their caring role for others.

Anna and Natalie regularly reassure each other in conversations that they have a right to leisure time and to other social activities as long as their standards of care for their children, houses and husbands do not change significantly.

Such intimate and novel explorations of personal ideas about the rights of women to self-identity and self-expression beyond their socially ascribed roles by Anna and Natalie do not seem to be equalled to the same extent among older women. Older women do discuss with friends the right of individuals to independence: for example, several women over fifty whom I spoke to talked about how difficult it had been in early marriage to be independent of their mothers-in-law when they lived in the same house. However middle-aged women seemed sceptical of, or resistant to, friends' needs to develop an identity apart from housewife, wife and mother. For example, when Liz hesitantly mentioned that she had started a course at a local college Liz's peers, in their fifties, undermined her confidence by questioning the value of education at Liz's age.

Traditionally, people with whom one could discuss particularly intimate information included female siblings and mothers, but the general social attitude of acceptance of tradition and personal circumstance militated against talk of change: for example, marital problems were greeted with the philosophy 'ye mak yer bed an ye lie in it'.

Personal and social ideas about what construes intimacy have changed so it is difficult to judge whether intimacy per se between friends has increased over the last fifty years. It is also extremely difficult to discern whether friendship has become a more important personal relationship and whether this has any connection with what has been called the privatisation of family life. The importance of a relationship is entirely subjective,

therefore is known to or 'felt' only by the women involved; it is also equally impossible to measure intimacy in one relationship in relation to another, or to compare intimacy across multiple relationships and across an historical period.

Young women seem more willing to discuss details of their marriages, such as sexual detail and marital disagreements, with friends than are older women. Young women also seem to be more willing to challenge traditional roles and social pressures, despite disapproval from their mothers.

This possible change in attitude and guessed changes in type of intimacy between women friends allow for more exploration by women of their social roles. Discussions among close friends reflect on achievements and losses and on aspirations for their children. My close friends want their children to choose different lives from them. They should have choice in their careers and personal lives, have the right to question traditional models, have the right to be different and to not have to feel bound by their parents' wishes (TR.33, AW).

Anna discussed such topics mainly with me because of my anomalous status as both insider and outsider. Close friendships generally provide a context in which to reveal private ideas which challenge socially-prescribed roles.

SOCIAL FACTORS

Individuals have requirements of their friendships which are in part defined and limited by their other roles (for example, as a mother and wife), and by the intuitive interpretation which two friends give of the desired and actual levels of intimacy between them (Allan, 1989, p.16).

Moreover, friendships are not simply freely chosen: many social factors influence the individual's choice of friends (Allan, 1989, p.152). Some of these are discussed below.

INCOMERS

The experiences of incomer women in making friendships in the village are instructive:

NN: .. I found them easy ti make friends with - well, easy ti speak ti, bit nae si easy ti make friends with. They wid speak ti ye an acknowledge ye, bit they didnae really wint ti be 'friends' with ye (NN, Tape 2, P1).

The difficulties for an incomer in making close friends with local women arise not out of hostility on the part of local women but from the pre-requisite of having long-term knowledge of the other.

PEER FRIENDSHIPS

Close friendships arise out of a long, shared personal and social history in the village. Friends are generally of the same age, same sex and they share gender and social roles, thus increasing the affective content of the relationship (Paine, 1974, p.120).

Local women, Nancy found,

NN: .. didnae need [new] friends. Becis they'd been ti school [as] kids an grown up wi them [long-term friends]. An they'd done the same things at the same time. They didnae need ti mak ony other friends cos they had their friends who they'd been ti school with - really close (NN, Tape 2, p.1).

Nancy gives a vivid description of this process happening to her daughter and her daughter's friend:

NN: .. they've been goin ti Mothers an Toddlers together, Playgroup together, an now they're at nursery together. There's a close bond there thit'll probably niver be removed. Ken, they're gaan ti go to school together right the way through .. they'll hae that closeness .. all the way up. It'll be very difficult for anyone else thit's gin ti come ti their friendships later on. Cos they'll be able ti laugh an speak aboot things they did yonks back which I canna go into

conversation with ti other people my age cos they've known each other for so long (NN, Tape 2, p.2).

Often Balnamara people who are close friends in adulthood have known each other virtually all their lives. Anna identified knowing someone, a peer, for a long time as the primary factor, aside from personal compatibility, as the major reason for the closeness of her friendships with Natalie and Aileen; the friend Anna regards as "fairly close ti" she feels less close to simply because she has known her for less time.

Close friendships generally occur between women who have known each other for a long time, and who are approximately the same age. Thus the women have a set of joint, age-related experiences, and they have helped one another deal with and have shared in evaluating personal responses to new roles and experiences.

Friendships can strengthen between women who previously did not know each other very well, on the basis of shared experiences, rather than simply on age. Thus differences in personal and social experiences can affect a long-term friendship, but since peers expect to marry and have children within a few years of each other, differences in personal and social experiences do not, in the short-term, matter.

FRIENDS' CHILDREN

Women who are close friends encourage their children to play together; this can result in the children becoming close friends throughout childhood, particularly if the children are of the same age and gender. Equally, if two children become close friends independently of their mothers this often results in the mothers seeing more of each other and on mothers relying on each other for child-care. These circumstances parallel the growth of strong family relationships between, for example, some first cousins, or between in-laws: regular contact, geographical proximity, similar age and experiences, and personal compatibility are strong factors in the growth of a close friendship.

It is not particularly common however that different generations of the same two families regard each other as close friends; although parents who are close friends encourage their children to play together there is flexibility for the child to choose his/her own close friends.

FAMILIES AND FRIENDS

Close friendship entails not only knowledge of a friend but knowledge of the friend's kin, especially of their parents and siblings.

A friend knows which family members her friend is particularly fond of and this can encourage the growth of a third relationship. For example, when Maureen, Anna's best friend, moved away from the village Anna gradually became close friends with Natalie, Maureen's sister. Not only did Anna and Natalie become firm friends but their 'triangular' relationship with Maureen was also strengthened through their deeper and mutually supportive behaviour towards each other. Anna describes both Maureen and her sister Natalie as 'like sisters' to her.

Their husbands also became good friends and have become sources of job information and advice to each other, just as the women are sources of female knowledge.

This pattern replicates what happens when a female marries: her knowledge of her husband's siblings and other family members grows, extending her personal and social knowledge and her support network.

SPOUSES

Where two adults are close friends, often their spouses become good friends also. Close friends who have boyfriends also go out in pairs. Although Allan (1987, p80) notes that couple friendships are less common among working-class households than among the middle-classes, there is a long tradition of couple friendships in Balnamara, both when their incomes were 'working-class' and now when they are 'middle-class'. Such friendships also ultimately lead to peer pressure to marry and have children at similar times.

Couples plan joint events, for example, meals at each other's houses. On these occasions friendships are gender-divided as men and women discuss, for example, their everyday work and social contacts. This gender division in their conversations reflects their gender-divided work and social worlds. However they monitor one another's conversations and will add an opinion or question, or will contradict or tease one another (c.f. Gullestad, 1984, p.1). They maintain an interest in the opposite sex's conversations to glean useful social information, to understand their partner's social world and to reinforce that the event is about building group, as well as gendered, pair links. Some writers claim that working-class households seldom conduct friendships within the boundaries of the home (Bulmer, 1987, p.67). This clearly does not pertain to Balnamara, where historically and currently the home is the main forum for developing close friendships; and there has always been a tradition of home-based couple friendships and meal-sharing, regardless of income.

CROSS-GENDER FRIENDSHIPS

Elderly people reported that adolescent boys and girls in their youth mixed company frequently, yet cross-gender friendships did not evolve either before or after marriage (c.f. Du Bois, 1974). The same was still true during my fieldwork, although young people appeared to me to be increasingly interested in developing mixed sex friendships. Yet young men and women face very different future work environments and roles, and have different access to resources. Intimacy is still seen as featuring only between heterosexual couples, in family relationships and between same-sex friends. Thus same-sex friendships are still the norm.

Strong cross-gender friendships in Balnamara were unknown to me. Cross-sex conversations between couples where the conversationalists are married to different partners do occur, but social distance is maintained because the levels of intimacy permitted are minimal, especially when they are spatially separated from others. Couples spending an evening together

often draw attention to gender separation by teasing and flirting publicly in an exaggerated and humorous fashion with each other's partners. The degree of risk taken in innuendo and actions varies between groups of friends, but I heard one group of close friends' spouses banter relentlessly about the opposite sex's breast and penis sizes and they would guess about sexual prowess. They also joked about lending one's partner/oneself out for sex when a partner was absent. Such conversations may tacitly recognise sexual attraction, gender and sexual boundaries, and friendship and spouse boundaries regarding affective relationships with the friend or same-sex friend, but recognition is given to gender division in the group (therefore safe) environment.

If, on visiting a friend, only the friend's spouse was present, usually I would leave, promising to ring or visit on my friend's return. Intimate mixed sex friendships occur almost solely between relatives, spouses, siblings and children.

If the friend is due home imminently her partner might invite the visiting friend to stay and have a coffee. This can be embarrassing and awkward: only if constantly reassured would I stay, and then I sat with a comfortable physical distance between us, keeping my jacket on, thus symbolically maintaining a distance. Occasionally, Anna teased me for 'running away'. Certainly Tam always seemed relaxed in his wife's friends' company and he did not, unusually, worry about neighbours spreading rumours. On the other hand, he never asked me to stay solely to visit him.

Friends are trusted with friends' husbands, in the same way that spouses are trusted with in-laws.

Couples might also emulate or copy one another, as if in competition. The 'competition' might be talked about openly to dispel tension and to reassert equality as close friendships entailed some notion of the absence of a conflict of powers (Eisenstadt, 1974, p.141). Anna and Tam constantly teased Natalie and Willy who occasionally bought similar or identical clothes to them or got similar haircuts. Anna would threaten not to tell Natalie the details of her purchases so that Natalie

wouldn't go and buy the same. It was difficult to tell whether emulation was always construed by either couple as competition, or whether the offended party felt their individuality had been compromised. Sometimes Anna said to me that emulation was flattery, not competition; but she hardly seemed to believe this herself. Anna likes to be individualistic and said she resents the Balnamara tradition of emulation and competition.

When Anna and Nancy joined a night-class Tam supported Anna and encouraged her to get better marks, not ostensibly for Anna's sake, but because he wanted her to beat Nancy, who was a skipper's son's wife. Ironically, Nancy's competitive nature soon caused Anna to draw back from developing a closer friendship with Nancy. Competition between friends is usually confined to things such as personal appearances and even then friends will both ridicule themselves. Because friends often advise each other on fashion and what 'suits' them it is difficult to disapprove of emulation.

Female friends, if married, generally visit each other less at weekends. Friends respect each other's wishes for some degree of family privacy at weekends and they restrict contact to phone-calls or short visits. Anna felt Willy was jealous of her close friendship with his wife Natalie and she suspected that he probably discouraged Natalie from visiting Anna at weekends, particularly since Natalie had told her husband that she shared information and feelings with Anna which she didn't share with him. Some husbands may feel jealous of the intimacy which close female friends develop in their absence.

MARITAL STATUS

Through marriage a friend gains access to higher male wages and to a home of her own, increasing her social status above that of single friends.

Lillian was the only female among her Balnamara peers to be unmarried by her late twenties. She tried hard to develop our friendship, partly because I was the only female of her age who was single. Lillian was very conscious and sensitive about her single status. She frequently objected that village events for her

age group were only for married people and would often refuse to join in.

Difference in marital status is not necessarily a barrier to friendship. My aunt thought I would find it hard to make friends because my peers are married and are busy as housewives and mothers. Not sharing these experiences was an obstacle to my making friends with some women, but personal attitudes were equally important.

However women do seek to share experiences, be they single or married, with people of equal social status. My friends, though interested in my single status, hoped that I would get married and share their personal and social experiences.

Until marriage a woman's primary relationship other than with kin is with her best friend(s), but once she marries she has new first loyalties to her husband and to their new home.

Theoretically women have less time for friendships once they marry as they are responsible for housekeeping and child-care; but women often seek to share these experiences, cutting down on the boredom and loneliness which house-bound work engenders (Oakley, 1975).

However, single women are encouraged to visit married friends with any current boyfriend, especially when the husband is at home; this mirrors the couple status of the married couple and thus suggests common social status as well as avoidance of competition for the married woman's first loyalties.

If a married woman has too strong an interest in the life of her single friend this can cause the husband and the married woman's mother to worry that the married woman is unsatisfied with her marriage. For example, Willy was jealous of my relationship with his wife and showed that he thought I could increase his wife's dissatisfaction with their marriage. When Natalie attended a concert in Aberdeen with me Willy asked her afterwards: "Fit di ye think ye're deein, awa ti Aiberdeen wi a single quine?"

Other friends' husbands seemed less bothered by my 'single' status, although they constantly teased me about being single.

CREW AND FRIENDSHIPS

When men crew in the same boat their wives often form friendships with each other. These friendships are of varying degrees of strength, depending on factors such as age, stage in the life-cycle, previous knowledge, geographical proximity and, particularly, personal liking. However, in the last ten years it has become common for men to change berth more frequently; it is likely that this will have long-term consequences for women's support networks with other crewmen's wives.

Increasingly crewmen are drawn from different villages and thus the crew's wives seldom meet, other than at boat functions and at the weddings of crew members' children. Although women in different villages can phone other fellow crewmen's wives to exchange news and give moral support, the extent of the support and the depth of the friendship is limited unless they have more frequent face-to-face contact. However, if crewmen and their wives live in the village women have a greater opportunity to exchange information about the boat crew. Such regular contact helps to build the friendship.

Nancy said her husband John didn't particularly want to socialise anyway with fellow crew at weekends as he saw plenty of them during the working week (TR.66, NN). If his wish not to socialise continues to predominate then this will result in a loss of opportunity for his wife to meet other crewmen's wives, particularly now that crew and their wives live further apart. Friendships between crewmen and between their wives are likely to be stronger where there have been long crew associations. Linda, for example, was very proud of the length of service of most of the men in her husband's crew: most, she joked, were 'lifers'. She knew most of the wives well but was especially good friends with one local crewman's wife who was of an approximate age and stage in the family life-cycle. The men and their wives have now retired, but were once neighbours; they knew each other's parents; and their children were friends. The couples also shared a religious history in the church, where both men were elders.

Margaret claims that Linda has always treated her as an equal. She never 'pulled rank' because she was the skipper's wife. Hamish had shared boat profits equally between the crew. Implicit in these statements, however, is a recognition of different status: Hamish and, implicitly, his wife and children, have boat shares, and James makes business decisions but his crew do not. However Linda, Hamish, Margaret and Graham regularly share meals, family news and community news; and they worship in the same church.

There is tacit recognition that skippers and their wives have greater social status: Chris, when her husband became skipper, volunteered defensively that although some women become more self-important when their husbands become skippers, she would not change how she behaved towards other people.

Amanda said that, as a crewman's wife, she would not like to cultivate the skipper's wife's friendship as others would gossip that she and her husband expected special privileges. However, her husband's aunt's husband Gary was also a crewman on the same boat and he and his wife were on excellent friendly terms with the skipper and his wife. The men crewed together, socialised together, shared confidences and went to church away from home together; their wives were good friends also.

Whether or not individuals become good friends depends on whether the individuals allow social or economic differences to influence how they regard and participate in the friendship. Skippers and their wives and families tend to live in certain areas of the town, principally among the bungalows. Geographical proximity promotes the development of friendship among peers who are also skippers' wives. Although there can be large differences in social status and wealth between families this does not necessarily exclude them from becoming close friends; but having different resources, living in different areas, and the fear of gossip about seeking special favours does not promote friendship generally between those of different social and economic status.

However, most local people would reject the suggestion that friendships are most likely between those of approximate social

and economic status: what is ideologically most important is personal compatibility and common interests. Equality is invoked, despite obvious material and moral status differences.

FRIENDS AND MOTHERS

Mothers are aware that friends are a valuable support network for their daughters, providing both emotional and practical support. Repeated contact can lead many mothers to treat their daughters' friends like second daughters by taking a personal interest in them. A mother may actively encourage her daughter's friends to visit her daughter and maintain the friendship, especially if the daughter has gone to live in a nearby town or village. Sandra was always delighted if I had been to visit her daughter and family. Sandra consequently treated me like another daughter: she bought me food and presents as she would for her own daughter and offered advice.

Whenever I met Nancy or Sandra we exchanged news of their daughters, as well as news of each other, thus acting as a two-way source of information and a support mechanism for their daughters.

Mothers recognise that friends are an important source of identity and support, often in ways which mothers cannot be. A mother will observe the characters of her daughter's friends and will informally monitor the influence they have on her daughter. Mothers may sometimes approach their daughters' friends for personal information about their daughters: for instance, Kathleen approached me to find out if her daughter was courting. Alternately, a mother may call upon her daughter's friend to support her against her daughter on a certain issue: this seldom is successful as the peer friendship is a much stronger alliance. When Anna and several friends arrived back late from a social event Helen was worried about the type of event we had attended. She could barely conceal her anger. Helen said nothing directly to Anna's friends but complained publicly and loudly to Anna, saying how tired she was, inferring that Anna had been out too long. She voiced her disapproval, ostensibly to Anna, but also to Anna's friends.

KINSHIP

Sociological studies suggest that working-class families recruit friendships primarily from kin (e.g. Allan, 1979, p.135) (see previous chapter). In Balnamara, friends may be recruited from amongst kin, but personal compatibility is the most important criterion (see discussion below of factors affecting friendship). The likelihood of friends also being related was greater before the Second World War, but since then several factors have decreased the likelihood of friends being related. Factors include: increased mobility, increased rates of exogamy, an influx of incomers, and greater family financial and social independence (see also INTRODUCTION and HOW WOMEN MAINTAIN FAMILY NETWORKS in previous chapter).

It is impossible to say whether families in Balnamara in the past recruited friends deliberately from kin; however, this seems unlikely because friendship, by definition, implies a relationship which extends beyond the definitions of kinship.

If intimacy between non-kin has increased through friendship then relationships, it could be argued, have become less privatised in the sense of being open to a wider public, and more privatised in the sense of lessening the importance of relatedness in the formation of friendships. In Balnamara, however, the degree of social and historical knowledge, either through relatedness or friendship, is still a very important factor in influencing the formation of friendships.

In Balnamara some friendships are kin-like, and some kin relationships are primarily friendships (cf. Allan, 1979, p.140). It is true that there is a high level of relatedness between people in the village, thus increasing the opportunity for social contact, but a close friendship relies far more on other factors, relying primarily on personal preference.

Bott suggests that once women have children they see less of friends and more of kin, who provide emotional and practical support. However men, she suggests, continue to see more of their colleagues and friends than kin (1957, p.93). In Balnamara, although women see more of their mothers once children are

born, they still rely heavily on close friendships, principally for emotional support, companionship and fun; indeed it could be argued that women see more of friends and less of relatives, apart from close family, once she has children because her friends are likely to have children of the same age. Amanda moved to another village when she married and had her first child; and although she continued to see her parents she was very bitter that her best friend forsook her. She kept up her enmity towards her friend for years afterwards.

Most kin are regarded as a looser, less immediate type of friend, or as 'allies' who can be called upon, when necessary, for different kinds of support, particularly in one's youth and in times of family crises. When Natalie fought with her friends as a child she knew she could call upon her first cousins for their support. When I went to live in Balnamara some of my cousins, particularly those I regarded as friends, gave me a high level of practical and emotional support, as one would normally expect a friend to do. Conversely, close friends may expect their friendship with a friend to take priority over their friend's kin relationships: for example, Amanda and Will criticised Brigid's husband, even though they knew that I was Brigid's first cousin. Being a relative entails obligations to support, defend, promote and represent the kin relationship. Incomers such as Nancy quickly become aware of the mine-field that gossip presents to those trying to build good friendships on the basis of an honest exchange of opinions about others in the community:

NN: Fit I found affa difficult ti start wi wis realisin who wis relatit ti who. So ye werenae really free ti speak aboot somebody withoot trampin on toes.. Even now I'm findin oot relationships thit I didnae ken existed. They're so interwoven in Balnamara .. Ye really hiv ti waatch ... [NN, TR.65]

Because incomers are unaware of kin relationships they are, potentially, a threat to public relations. I was subtly educated by

friends and relatives about what not to say to whom. Nancy was not so fortunate.

Only incomers who marry into the Balnamara fisher population, or who have relatives in the village, are generally successful in forming strong friendships with local fisher people.

LOYALTIES

I was praised by the general community but criticised by a close friend for being friendly with everyone - I was 'aabody's buddy'. Natalie worried about whether I could be loyal to her because I seemed to like and speak to so many others. Conversations generally involve gossip about others, so Natalie assumed I might gossip about her.

Unlike most people in the village I did not have a friendship history against which my character could be assessed.

When Natalie heard that a concerned villager had criticised Natalie's behaviour in my company Natalie responded that they would not have said this to Natalie's best friend, a local, as she would have defended Natalie.

A relative thought that it was 'good' to be 'aabody's buddy', but she too on occasion criticised my choice of company.

COMMON VALUES

Sharing a livelihood and history implies sharing a set of common values, social aspirations and sense of cultural identity.

Friendships flourish in this environment as they share in numerous historical family and economic connections, a sense of shared livelihood and common good, and an understanding of lifestyle. These factors taken together make it very difficult for incomers in the village to meet villagers and to develop a relationship as they often have different lifestyles and cultural values.

Sharing a livelihood, a social history and social values is an explanation used to justify friendships or to justify one's interest in developing a friendship. When I started my research in Balnamara people introduced themselves to me by explaining

their familiarity with my maternal relatives, both dead and alive, all of whom had been 'fisher' and were locals.

SELF-CONFIDENCE

Pahl and Pahl report that women are often very anxious about making new friendships when they move somewhere new, for it may involve developing new facets of one's character.

Consequently, they may have a passive attitude to making new friends (1981, p.131). I felt that this was also true of Balnamara women when they met incomers in their own community. They lacked experience of others' lifestyles and confidence to approach them; and they felt that incomers would misunderstand them. The main, semi-formal environments which do bring new and old community members together are adult-run children's groups and religious meetings. Here the women have a common interest and shared experience.

Paul pointed out that his wife knew, and was even friendly with, some new residents; but as he was seldom at home he knew none of them.

A major function of close friendships is to bolster a woman's confidence and self-esteem. For example, Anna said she was angry at her husband who had criticised her investment strategies; so Natalie encouraged her to challenge him directly. When Anna, Natalie or Amanda's mothers criticised their daughters' parenting skills close friends would sympathise from their own experiences and would support their friends' methods. Anna frequently criticised her personal appearance, but she made self-criticisms most frequently to her close friends on whom she could rely for acceptance and understanding.

Close friends not only support their friends in the performance of their roles as wives, housewives and mothers, they also support them in the expression of their needs for new roles which often mothers, children and husbands oppose. For example, my aerobics friends all commented that, despite their mothers' disapproval, they enjoyed and 'needed' this opportunity to do something for themselves.

In Balnamara praise is sparingly given. Reasons for this include the value attached to modesty and equality, and the fear of being thought to curry favour. There is also an undercurrent of competition which occasionally surfaces in friendships.

Anna and Amanda enjoyed the open praise I gave them. Anna often expressed low self-esteem, and this surfaced in comments on her physical appearance and her intellectual ability. She blamed her mother and brother for childhood remarks about her appearance and intellect but did herself take steps as an adult to build her confidence. We exercised and dieted together; and I tried to support her when she began an adult education class. I too expressed similar feelings to Anna, so it became an equal exchange of supportive remarks and behaviour. Anna also enjoyed her husband's support, who disagreed with Anna's negative assessment of her abilities. By constantly down-grading their own abilities women try to lessen their own and others' expectations of them, so that if they fail it is expected, and if they succeed it is a surprise.

Natalie largely ignored Anna's self-criticisms and made Anna either laugh at herself or helped her develop positive, combative behaviour.

Amanda seemed most concerned about her ability to be a good mother, housewife and wife. She married and had a child when very young, so she occasionally felt she was expected by the community to fail. She consequently liked reassurance that she was a good mother, housewife and wife. She also liked encouragement to form her own opinion about community issues. Natalie seemed a very confident person, but although she was unafraid to publicly contradict others' opinions she strongly valued her close friendships and needed friends' full support. She recounted betrayals and family criticisms with anger and used this to explain her bullishness. She seemed to have developed her confidence as a defensive reaction to criticism, but still is emotionally dependent on her close friendships for intimacy, understanding and support.

SOCIAL INTERESTS

Women usually go to social events with close friends or family (see next chapter). Friendships can even be developed by attending social events together on a regular basis. Women generally attend a social event with a close friend where they meet others through being one of a pair. Thus less intimate friendships can develop from this beginning.

Usually contact made through social events results in a sort of 'buddy' relationship which is built around interest in a particular social event; but the relationship has potential to grow into a closer relationship, especially if the women have other interests in common and they like and trust one another.

The kinds of friendship built around participation in a regular social activity are valued for sociability and a sense of community participation that activities engender, and for the personal and community news which they bring through conversations. My aerobics friends talked about many general topics loosely drawn from personal experience.

Occasionally, sensitive information was introduced and, although the women enjoyed the exploratory nature of these conversations and would seek agreement and trade similar experiences, they did not always comfortably agree with the speaker. For instance, when Natalie complained that her husband disapproved of her sunbathing on a Sunday she saw nothing wrong with this activity; yet while the others laughed, they did not encourage or agree with her.

When private information is given which embarrasses others, and with which they do not agree, friends do not respond.

People of all ages in Balnamara go to social events in pairs, either in the company of a good friend, neighbour, relative or husband. When the Women's Guild bus run is touted annually people find themselves a friend/partner usually before booking their seats. Women interact in a big group mainly as part of two-person units. They enjoy this degree of security and identity, and feel better able to meet other people within the larger group. The

security of identity which marriage gives seems to be mirrored in the pairing of friends at such events.

The egalitarian ethos (see previous chapters) applies also to participation in social activities. Women should treat each other as equals. Open competition is avoided. Anna eventually withdrew from an evening class partly because she felt her friend was always checking, comparing and competing for class marks. Anna preferred, she said, to do her best for her own satisfaction; she did not want to feel she was in competition with anyone, particularly with her friend.

NEIGHBOURS

A good neighbour is highly valued and may also be regarded as a good friend. A good friend/neighbour can be trusted with personal and family information, but a bad neighbour is not a friend and cannot be trusted with private information.

A neighbour can be recruited as a friend to accompany a person to social events. Although my neighbour was thirty five years older than I we enjoyed each other's company and gave personal support when necessary. My aunt was delighted that my neighbour Rachel and I got on so well, because she and Rachel's sister, Mags, were close friends and next-door neighbours. They shop together, have meals together, have a key to one another's houses, look after the other's house when the friend is away on holiday, and so on.

Their degree of contact is unusual, but good neighbours are highly valued. The women are not only neighbours and good friends but they often joke that they are like sisters, and are 'aunts' to each other's children. My aunt hoped Rachel and I could develop a similar friendship.

Being good neighbours and friends has implications for their families: knowledge of the relationship creates opportunities for developing friendships between other members of their families.

RELIGION

Religious identity has many implications for friendships in Balnamara. People generally make good friendships with those

within their own church or meeting, although everyone is valued and welcomed as friends or fellow worshippers. Cath and Jess made me very welcome in their homes and often recalled how my grandfather had been a preacher in their meeting. They did this to increase our sense of compatibility and similarity, and therefore to establish friendship.

Linda and Hamish explained that meeting and kirk folk are pleasant to one another, but religious differences inevitably lead to social differences and distance, and to more distant forms of friendship.

They instanced their neighbours: one household was Brethren and the other was Church of Scotland. Their Brethren neighbours were very pleasant and occasionally - perhaps once a year - they shared food. However when invited to Hamish and Linda's daughter Eliza's wedding the Brethren neighbours declined to attend the church service on account of their different religious views, but agreed to attend the wedding meal. The friendship was, therefore, more of an acquaintanceship which was socially, but not so personally, important.

Linda contrasted this relationship to her relationship with her Church of Scotland neighbours. The two women visit each other daily, share confidences, go to the same church, spend many Sunday evenings after the church service in a fellowship meal, attend religious conferences together, are care-takers of one another's houses and baby-sit each other's children.

Linda was "affa revellt" when her neighbour's family, and many other long acquaintances, left the Church. Linda quoted the number of years she and her neighbour had been friends: they had grown up as next-door neighbours in the Fishertown, lived next door to each other for nearly two decades, shared in the upbringing of their families, and were fellow Christians with a joint religious history. Linda also feared for other friendships in the church: they would be tested by new differences in faith.

Linda and Hamish agreed that although they were best friends with their neighbours and had been fellow Christians together, differences would, they said, creep in to their and their families' friendships.

Linda and Hamish, like their peers in the Church of Scotland, had been in the church for forty years together. They had converted and 'lived' together in the church with many of those whom they had counted as friends and who had now left. They had a wealth of shared social and religious experience. They felt very 'let down' by their friends.

There are, however, many good friendships between Balnamara people with different religious beliefs, and everyone welcomes others to form relationships which are based on other ties such as personal compatibility.

Within each religious group in Balnamara there are numerous differences. In the Church of Scotland there are elders, their wives, and church members, who have higher social status than those who attend church but are not members. Friendships are particularly strong within the two categories, but friendships of course exist between the categories. Interestingly, if an elder's son or daughter attends church it is likely that s/he will become a full member, and that any sons will become elders, like their fathers. The same is probably true for the Brethren: sons become 'brothers'. There is also the same pressure within the Brethren for individuals/couples to 'commit' and to join as full members, particularly if the parents are full members.

Anna was brought up in a Brethren meeting, Natalie in the Church of Scotland. Because neither they nor their husbands were committed members of any religious group each couple attended the other religious service in the company of their friends. Thus they became better acquaintances with members of each religious group. People at the different services warmly welcomed them, but because their attendance was irregular and broke with their own family traditions they reserved judgement and doubted whether they would switch allegiance on a committed, permanent basis.

Friendships do not, to my knowledge, lead to conversion from one religious group to another. Generally only marriage or spiritual questioning can effect such dramatic changes. Also, friendship is not such a powerful traditional influence as parental influence and family tradition.

Friendships between Balnamara people and visitors to the village are uncommon, partly because there are few forums for meeting and sharing experiences. However those visitors to Balnamara who visit places of worship on a Sunday are far more likely to meet Balnamara people and to be accepted and treated well as guests. Some visitors who regularly spend holidays in Balnamara have developed a network of Christian Balnamara friends with whom they spend time, share meals and find companionship with.

NON-LOCAL FRIENDSHIPS

When a Balnamara person leaves the community s/he is encouraged to visit other friends' or relatives' friends and relatives in distant places, thus making new friendships based on local knowledge and on known others' recommendations.

Balnamara people identify primarily with other North East fishing communities, but also feel a strong affinity with fishing communities where they know people and where they have worked, such as in Mallaig, Oban, Lochinver, Fife, Plymouth, and in other English fishing ports. Many Balnamara families go on holiday to ports where the fishermen have worked from. Some Balnamara families have developed friendships with couples they have met there, and they take it in turn to spend holidays in each other's communities.

Some Balnamara couples have also developed friendships with couples from non-fisher backgrounds. My aunt and uncle occasionally visit English couples they have met on tours abroad, especially when they also share a similar, Christian viewpoint.

FISHER, COUNTRY AND INCOMER FRIENDSHIPS

There is a great deal more contact between fisher and country people in the Balnamara parish while they are still at school than there is once they leave school and become adults. Although country-fisher friendships are possible, geographical distance, the different kin and social networks of their parents and the children themselves, and different social values and social roles

are differences which finally mark them as different from one another by their late teens.

The 'gulf' between Balnamara country and fisher people becomes obvious, one farmer argues, when young people begin to search for an occupation and lifestyle values in their late teens. Their choices are heavily influenced by opportunities and examples given by their close families, and by a set of lifestyle goals and rewards which again are related to their family background. Tom discusses how school close friendships between country and fisher males are tested by sharing or not sharing a career and by the subsequent access to, or lack of access to, material wealth.

For young men this is primarily symbolised by only young fishermen being able to afford expensive cars, by the spatial separation of fishing and farming loci, and by the changes in their work and friendship networks. Young fishermen deepen their knowledge of other young fishermen from other fishing ports, and young farm-based men develop their knowledge of other young, farm-based men in surrounding farming communities. Similarly, daughters of fishermen leave school to work in local shops, and most marry into the fishing community, either in Balnamara, or in another fishing-based town or village. Thus different fishing and farming lifestyles between fisher and non-fisher severely reduce the chances of developing a long-lasting, cross-boundary friendship.

Incomer children also face difficulties in making friends and in integrating into Balnamara life. However, since the early 1980's, the number of incomer children, whose parents live in the village but who are not connected to the fishing industry, has increased significantly. Though children of the earlier period found it difficult to be 'accepted' by local children, incomer children now in their early teens appear to be more numerous, integrated and vociferous. This may be in part because Balnamara children now mix with a greater number of children from different backgrounds at a new secondary school. That incomer children are now being integrated into local models of friendships may indicate that they may also marry into the native fisher population.

CONCLUSION

Friendships are extremely important dimensions of personal and social life in Balnamara. Their most fundamental criterion is personal compatibility. Other social factors, such as economic status and previous family relationships, are influential. Age is particularly influential because sharing peer experiences is a good basis for friendship. Economic status differences are much less important as people of different economic status share very similar life-styles and goals. Children do not generally use economic wealth as a criterion for choosing friends; indeed there is an ethos of egalitarianism which discourages open discrimination on the basis of wealth. The fact that a friend may also be fairly closely related, if of a different economic status, also legislates against division of friends according to socio-economic status.

While close friendships provide opportunities for greater self-expression, a sense of belonging, support, understanding, companionship and fun, other types of friendship give a sense of social involvement, social connectedness, belonging to a social or cultural community, and enjoyment.

The different degrees of friendship replicate the different practical, emotional and moral support roles of members of one's family. Friendship also engenders a feeling of wider identification with the community by linking those who are and are not related.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I consider the nature of women's participation in social activities in Balnamara. In Part A I describe and discuss which activities they become involved in, and how and why they do so. I show that women's participation in social events is limited by egalitarianism, by women's lack of confidence and by adherence to traditional roles as mother and housewife.

I also consider how women participate more broadly in community life, for example in the running of community events and in the church. It is shown that women do not have influential roles in church or community groups other than in those which are age-specific. It is suggested therefore that, as in working-class communities generally, there is pressure on women not to be visible in public life.

In Part B I show how gossip and the assertion of tradition are two expressions of community dialogue which act as powerful restraints on how women participate in social events.

PART A

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES FOR MEN AND WOMEN

The numbers and kinds of social and leisure activities, and the nature of participation of both men and women, are strongly influenced by work patterns and by family ideology. During the week men fish, women focus on housework and children, and at weekends couples concentrate on 'family life' and religious activities.

Men cannot participate in social events during the week, but although women potentially can, they feel they have to put their children's needs (including their social needs) first; and grandmothers reinforce this sense of 'duty' in their daughters, partly by withholding child-care support. Women comment that although they could ask their husbands at weekends to babysit their children they feel that it is unfair to leave their husbands when he is at home so briefly. Men also express their preference to stay with their wives and children rather than take part in social activities. Women also monitor their husbands' participation in social activities at weekends. When Paul returned from fishing one Friday night a friend rang to invite him for a game of golf the next morning. Paul agreed but his wife shouted from a different room "ye're nae that!"

Social events for children and women are relatively unstructured, in contrast to religious services. Religious services are organised and run by men on behalf of their families and have a much more formal and permanent structure than do women's social events. Women can hold a formal position in the religious structures but their participation is limited and has less overall structural and symbolic importance (see below).

There are few adult social groups devoted specifically to women or men. There has been some growth since the late 1980's of single-sex social activities but many simply enhance or develop traditional roles.

In Balnamara there is still a great deal of family, social and religious pressure on married adults to put children and family

first so that virtually all social activities reflect the centrality of a 'family ideology'.

The recent development of social activities for men and women is related to changes in fishing patterns, better wages, greater on-shore leisure time for men, and new ideas about gender roles. Presently, when men retire from the sea, they have very few hobbies: historically, villagers were too poor and had too little leisure time to develop hobbies ashore. While some older fishermen are developing some hobbies such as swimming and loch-fishing, many younger fishermen have learnt to play golf, go to the gym or ski in their spare time.

MARITAL STATUS

Marital status is important in determining the type of and frequency of involvement in social activities of men and women. While young single men and women spend a large amount of time outside the family home, socialising with friends and potential partners, the social life of married people, even the newly-married, is very different.

The newly-married are expected to withdraw from social groups which are mainly constituted for single people and to become more home- and spouse-focused. The newly-married begin to socialise with other friends who are married; thus they establish a network of friendships with others of similar social status with whom they will also socialise together, often within the home. Their single friends consequently begin to lose married peer friends and may feel more pressure to marry to gain access to a network of their married friends.

Anna, Nancy and Amanda commented that when they married they no longer wanted to socialise outside the home, adding that their withdrawal from social activities was voluntary: they enjoyed their new roles of wife and housewife through 'home-making' and entertaining friends at home.

Young mothers prioritise their husbands' and children's welfare before adult social activities and, indeed, often before social contact with friends or other relatives. Anna commented that once she had children she had even less interest in going out to

social events. Natalie didn't like to be apart from her children more than once a week, or to participate in social or leisure activities when her husband was at home (c.f. Wimbush, 1987). Nancy also said she filled her week with facilitating her children's social lives; and that weekends were "solely left for him [husband]" (TR.68, NN).

Putting her own social interests before those of her children and husband can result in a woman being made to feel, or feeling, selfish and neglectful of her primary female roles of housewife and mother. Her principal source of practical and perhaps emotional support, her mother, will also reinforce this feeling. Consequently women were frequently excused if, for example, they failed to attend an event: it was assumed that they had to look after their children, or their husbands had arrived home.

AGE

Level of social activity after marriage does not seem to vary greatly according to age. Women remain family-focused on their children or grandchildren. Men have few hobbies but often spend long periods chatting to peers about fishing matters. However, greater involvement in religious activities is also quite common for both sexes as they grow old.

MEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREN'S SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Purse fishermen, particularly since the 1980's, are at home for longer periods than ever before and are often visibly present in the village during the week. Many have developed new interests, such as walking, hill-walking, skiing, golfing and swimming. They have also become more involved in housework and in child-care, for example by transporting their children to and from social activities. Thus purse fishermen are more likely to see their children on their own and with their children's peers. But purse-men's commitment to care of their children, and to participating in their children's social lives, is temporary due to the unpredictability of fishing seasons and because women continue to be seen as the principal child-carer.

White-fish fishermen, however, are rarely at home during the week to facilitate their children's social activities. They consequently have much less contact with their children and tend to be less socially involved in their children's lives, seeing their children only as part of the family group.

CHILDREN'S CLUBS

Because women prioritise their husbands' and children's needs women's commitment to social groups tends to be weak and temporary. However women show a high level of interest and participation in pre-school children's groups because these are associated with the development of their children.

A mother's level of social activity and exposure often mirrors that of her child: when the child is very young her social life is often non-existent because of the high degree of infant care necessary. When two years old, children attend the local Mothers and Toddlers Group. The title of the Group reflects the dual interests of its membership: it is a social club not only for the children but for their mothers also. To an extent, mothers live vicariously through their pre-school children's social lives (Deem, 1987, p.112).

The Mothers and Toddlers Group runs twice-weekly and is 'staffed' by the mothers themselves.

When the children are three they join the Play-School. The Play-School is led by a qualified play-leader. The mothers do not stay with their children in this group but drop them off and collect them after the play sessions. Here the children learn to socialise independently of their mothers, prior to going to school.

Both groups meet in premises in the local primary school playground which women approve of because they develop connections with mothers of school children and their pre-school age children will later attend the primary school.

Women greatly enjoy the social contact which the Mothers and Toddlers Group and Play-School provide. Many have not participated in group activities since they attended post-natal classes. Thus the child's own growing independence and social

abilities and interests are mirrored by the mother's own growing sense of independence and the extension of her social circle. Children's social groups help to reinforce already strong friendships and, in particular, help to strengthen wider social ties or 'acquaintanceships', giving mothers a sense of companionship and connection with the wider community. Although very personal news and feelings were not generally discussed by acquaintances, general information was shared, such as where husbands were fishing and other general family news. Thus meeting other mothers in these Groups is important for promoting general feelings of sociability, shared experience and social confidence. Although close friends encourage their children to play together many new relationships develop between children who meet regularly at the Play-School; their friendships can also lead to closer contact between their mothers. However the mothers are much less likely than their children to develop new close friendships because of having pre-existing close friendships.

CHILDREN'S PARTIES

The highlight of the year for mothers and children are the Mothers and Toddlers Group and Play-School Christmas parties. They are attended not only by the mothers and children but also by the children's grandmothers. The mothers make the party food and bring it to the village hall. While they carry in the food the grandmothers take charge of the grandchildren. Such occasions demonstrate wider female family connections and reinforce female acquaintanceships across age-groups. The child, mother and grandmother 'dress up' for the Christmas party. Girls are dressed in very feminine, elaborate, expensive-looking clothes while boys are often dressed in a bow-tie, shirt and waistcoat, reinforcing gender images. Often mothers buy the children new clothes for the event so that the children look their best: Amanda was very excited and proud of how Gary looked in his new suit and shoes; he was sure to be admired by other mothers, as was Amanda's ability to dress him well.

Women feel that there is a lot of competition to dress up their children in remarkable, expensive clothes: this can provoke both admiring and disapproving comments such as on the exorbitant cost of a child's shoes. (Children are dressed in the same expensive way that adults often are: this is recognised as a N.E. 'fisher phenomenon' among themselves). Mothers too are well-dressed but glamorous 'party wear' is reserved for the mothers' Christmas meal.

Such emphasis on dress parallels the emphasis put generally on conspicuous social wealth which is associated with high social esteem; clothes appeal also demonstrates women's abilities to be good mothers.

Often a Group photograph is taken and published in the local newspaper. Women enjoy identifying the mothers and their children to demonstrate their social knowledge.

Such photographs also identify generations of mothers and children. Margaret, now retired, brought out a photograph of one of her children's Christmas parties in the 1950's. She pointed out who they were and discussed 'what had become of them'. These were children and mothers with whom she and her children still continue to share peer experiences.

The mothers' Christmas meal is attended only by the mothers. Women attend with a close friend; otherwise they feel isolated and awkward among other close friends and among women who socialise together, usually through the presence of their children. Other tensions include whether to consume alcohol, as some mothers' religious beliefs prevent them from drinking, and drinking alcohol may be seen by some as a morally-irresponsible thing for a mother to do.

Women want to look their best and this may mean for some demonstrating their continuing sexual attractiveness; this too can invite moral disapproval.

Generally women greatly enjoy and look forward to the mothers' Christmas meal as it is one of the few instances when married women can go out socially without their children or husbands, but sanctioned by their status as mothers.

COMMITTEE PARTICIPATION

Locals in Balnamara generally avoid joining clubs or committees. Consequently sometimes committees achieve little, are short-term, and are composed of women who are either incomers or who are willing to risk dispute and others' criticism (cf. Cohen, 1975).

Commitment to group committees varies from year to year and according to the personalities, ideas and energy of committee members.

Women require much persuasion to join committees, but they are easier persuaded if a close friend is also a post-holder, or if they know other committee members reasonably well. This reflects a general trend in social relations in the village where individuals participate in society as pairs, perhaps partly through a lack of confidence. A woman will thus feel supported and understood by another person on the committee, thus the committee functions better when members are also close friends. Women are, however, careful not to associate with only one person as this invites criticism of cliquishness. Everyone should be seen to participate and be given an equal opportunity to do so.

PRE-SCHOOL GROUP COMMITTEES

Committees are formed from amongst the Mothers and Toddlers Group and Play-School members. Election occurs by the proposal and seconding of a mother attending the Group. Amanda was amazed at being elected part of a management structure and was bemused by how easy it was to be elected. She expected that she would therefore be as easily elected onto the Play-School committee when her son joined the Play-School. Amanda did not generally feel as wealthy, influential or respected as some mothers, such as the wives of skippers and those whom she assumed were socially more confident. Being on the committee boosted her confidence and introduced her to skippers' wives and homes. Amanda's discomfort, however, was shared by all of the local fisher mothers: this partly explains why local women's involvement in committees is short-lived.

Country and incomer mothers were well-represented and seemed less uncomfortable about serving on committees. In one sense these mothers and their children were more needful of the Play-School and Mothers and Toddlers Group to integrate with others than were local women and their children who had long-standing neighbours and friends living nearby.

There is in the village a general suspicion of people who seem overly-keen to take up committee positions and thus assume power over others. 'Bossy' women and their children are talked about. Amanda thought Rhona's child was a bully and was very like her mother, the chairwoman of one of the committees.

Although Anna agreed to be treasurer for the Play-School for a year she expressed strong self-doubt and ridiculed her own ability to cope as treasurer. However I felt that Anna would not have taken the position if she really felt incapable as women do not like to assert themselves publicly if it is at all likely that they will fail. Her expression of self-doubt was partly reflective of her lack of self-confidence and partly expressive of humility and equality with others.

(Balnamara people are conscious of their efforts to control their own and others' personal and social reputations so that they appear to share a perception of equal status with others in the village: when invited to become extras on a film-set female friends said "We wid like till bit we're nae lettin een anither"). As in many other rural communities (e.g. Cohen, 1987) female group leaders are usually women who come from outside the village. They have the independent status and the personal confidence to do the job and to risk the private disagreement and criticism of others.

The groups try to work through consensus rather than being 'management-led'. The principle of democracy is practised between the women themselves and everyone is expected to assume a level of responsibility and to contribute equally through enthusiasm and hard work to the groups.

The women's personal cleaning standards are also applied to shared property such as the groups' portacabin. Balnamara young mothers put up a cleaning rota for all the groups' mothers,

feeling that this would be effective and fair to everyone, and would meet their individual cleanliness standards (see chapter on **HOUSEWIVES AND HOUSEWORK**). These same attitudes were shown by women when spring-cleaning the Church: everyone tried to work equally hard.

VOLUNTARY GROUPS

Mothers work hard to make the voluntary pre-school groups successful. They donate their labour to help run activities, to clean the premises, and they raise funds to buy equipment. They hold craft-fairs, coffee mornings, and soup-and-sweet events to raise funds. The mothers donate the food, then buy it back. Mothers invite other women, especially their close friends and mothers, to attend the event. Attending is a sign of support for, and personal connection with, the mothers organising the event, and reinforces the status associated with 'family life'. Grandmothers look after the children and buy the goods while the mothers sell the goods and serve teas. Thus, although the event is theoretically open to anyone and is supported by the community, it is financially and practically supported by the children's mothers and female relatives.

THE PLAY-SCHOOL

The Play-School has a different structure from the Mothers and Toddlers Group. It is run by one paid leader who has one or two helpers. Mothers leave their three to five year old children in the group for a morning or afternoon. The child should be semi-independent of the mother by the time s/he is three, and the Play-School group contributes to the growing independence of the child. Anna was proud that her son did not cry when she first left him at the group. She pitied the mother whose child wouldn't stay without his mother. Anna was proud of her son's independence, his ability to socialise with other children and his enjoyment of group activities. He was 'socialising' well and this gave Anna greater personal freedom.

PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATION

Very few parents choose to join the Parent-Teacher Association. The meetings are held during the week when husbands are at sea and village women are reluctant to participate in formal committee structures which are organised by professionals.

The head-teacher remarked that, even if unwilling to become involved in formal committee structures, Balnamara women were vociferous in their support of their children and were demanding of the school and its teachers. They were also highly defensive of their children and often argued with a teacher's verdict of misbehaviour in class. Mothers thus defend the image of the 'perfect child'.

Village women's energy and strength in defending and demanding services for their children astonished me as generally they avoided controversy or disagreement and official structures of administration.

Several of their criticisms were raised through village parent representatives on the Parent-Teacher Association, and individual parents sometimes challenged individual teachers on how they disciplined their children.

YOUTH ACTIVITIES

However the nature and frequency of mothers' involvement in organisation of their children's activities decreases rapidly once the child goes to school. Mothers perhaps believe that once the child goes to school and becomes part of an official structure that other officials are the most appropriate people to run other kinds of organised social events.

There are several weekly clubs for young children such as a roller-disco, a youth club, a badminton class and a karate class: all are run by 'outsiders'.

Mothers are very reluctant to get involved in running youth activities. A local community education worker and the local hall caretaker tried without success to encourage locals to take over from them but no-one volunteered. Anna thought this was because villagers did not want to do the work. The caretaker commented that parents wanted 'rid' of their children for an hour or two; and the community education worker said a parent

told her she wouldn't be able to suffer the noise at the youth club. Eventually the senior youth club stopped when no local parents got involved. The caretaker commented that it was always the same people who volunteered to run community events, which is a common feature in rural communities (see, for example, Cohen, 1987).

Once their children are semi-independent mothers are potentially more socially-mobile, like their children, and they are disinclined to get involved in running children's activity clubs. When Alasdair joined the Play-School Anna looked forward to having more time to do her housework. However, although they have more 'free' time, women do not generally spend a lot more time on their own leisure pursuits but work harder at other roles such as housework or motherhood.

BADMINTON

Club members include locals, incomers and country people. Committee membership is open to all. Local women tend to become badminton committee members along with a close friend. Local women worry about their ability to do the job. However their ability and trustworthiness is known locally through personal knowledge and reputation. Women do their jobs extremely conscientiously, fearing letting others down or being irresponsible. When Brigid retired from the committee an incomer volunteered to take over; because his trustworthiness was not known and Brigid felt guilty about demitting she continued to worry about the club's financial affairs. Her skipper-husband could not understand her feelings of guilt and obligation, being generally more used to formal working relationships within fishing committees.

While women take their committee responsibilities seriously they do not feel committed in any long-term sense. They enjoy flexibility and short-term involvement. For many women this is because women lack self-confidence to sustain involvement and thus risk dispute; and because they have other roles and support structures which obviate the need to develop friendships and roles through regular committee involvement.

Unspoken rules of personal and social conduct exist in club settings. An incomer invited me along to badminton one evening. Most people appeared to me to have a good understanding of the rules and to be having fun by teasing and by laughing at themselves and others. The players seemed competitive but ridiculed their own abilities so as not to isolate or offend their opponents.

The incomer's behaviour on court, however, did not please local people: she was regarded as too legalistic, too bossy, and a bad loser. Comments were made privately that she regularly played in too openly an individualistic and competitive way.

The manner of conduct described above is also generally applicable to other scenes of possible competition or confrontation in the lives of community members.

AEROBICS

Some young mothers in Balnamara voiced their opinion that they needed personal time and leisure opportunities away from their children, and that personal leisure time made them better able to cope with the stresses created by their other roles, as mother, wife and housewife (c.f. Wimbush, 1987, p.150). Anna said that her bawling son would not stop her from going to a weekly class, even if her mother criticised her 'neglect' of her child, because she would have a mental breakdown otherwise.

Amanda did not want leisure space but wanted a part-time job which gave her an identity separate from her roles as wife and mother.

The meaning of leisure time for married mothers is often simply time alone without their husbands or children (Deem, 1987, p.113); or it can be this and opportunities to meet with friends and other women at, for example, an aerobics class.

Women in Balnamara attend aerobics, as other social activities, in pairs, often lacking confidence to explore things individually. I went to aerobics as part of a group of five. Within the group were several close friendships but two major groupings of friends: Anna, Natalie and I, and Nancy, Elaine and Trina. However, despite these close friendships, the women tried to give equal

attention to one another so that no-one felt left out by cliquishness.

Although Elaine was the original proposer of the aerobics group there was no 'leader' and decisions were taken jointly. Anyone could bring up a conversation topic and everyone contributed. Although women would say they felt slightly fitter they made self-derogatory remarks and laughed at themselves so that no-one appeared to think themselves any better than anyone else.

In Porteesgach we were the 'quines fae Balnamara', giving us a group identity which made us feel we shared a common identity. Conscious of our 'outsider' status we stood together as a line in the workout room so that we could see each other and support one another. We sat together to change our clothes before and after the workout, and contact with others from Porteesgach was done usually through one of our group knowing someone and introducing us. We all were interested in meeting others and used usually humour or empathy regarding our inability to establish equality and friendship.

Differences between individuals and sets of friends were generally fairly inconspicuous but how the group dealt with differences was illustrated by our experiences of the aerobics class Christmas meal. The occasion was seen very differently by individuals within the group. Attitudes were apparently shared between groups of close friends within the group as several different codes of behaviour and sets of expectations became apparent.

Whereas at the weekly aerobics classes our group expectations seemed straight-forward and harmonious the opposite was true of the aerobics class meal. Anna, Natalie and I had agreed to go to a bar and a disco after the meal but we each had different reasons for wanting to do so and we were anxious to different degrees about the social and personal implications of doing this. The other three Balnamara women were also quietly worried about how the purpose of the evening would be differently interpreted by the group. Trina, a committed Christian, only needed to state her intention of going home after the meal: no-one challenged her. Both Elaine and Nancy, less devout Christians, said that they

had to relieve their baby-sitters by a certain time, but Natalie in particular tried to get them to stay. Afterwards Anna and Natalie agreed that Nancy probably would have liked to go dancing and drinking but that, because of her closer friendships with Trina and Elaine, she had felt morally obliged as a married woman, mother and friend to go home early with her friends.

Porteesgach women stereotype Balnamara women as being very conservative, religious and therefore afraid to be seen doing anything contentious in public. Trina, Nancy and Elaine's behaviour (above) illustrates this. Our group from Balnamara had the opportunity to contradict this image, given our young ages and the examples set by our more boisterous peers from Porteesgach.

Our Balnamara group fractured into two groups of common interests. Within these were individual agendas: each of us sought to influence the groups' decisions.

However the group showed great commitment to the aerobics class because the women often met with resistance, mainly from their mothers, about attending a regular class which took them away from their children. The women joked and laughed about such comments from their mothers and discussed other remarks their mothers had made about the way they brought up their children. All of the women felt that they needed time for themselves away from their other roles as mother, wife and daughter, and they made an effort to find baby-sitters when their mothers refused.

ECONOMIC STATUS AND PARTICIPATION

Participation requires locals to maintain appearances of equal social and economic status. Signs of economic status mean the possession of certain material goods such as the correct sports wear. When Natalie invited me to the aerobics class I explained, somewhat embarrassed, that I could not afford the appropriate aerobics clothes. Natalie insisted that I accept the long-term loan of sports clothes, and said not to mention this to the others: Natalie did not want to socially embarrass me.

Thus Natalie made it possible for me to participate in the group by maintaining social appearances within the group: this reflected general patterns in the community of sharing and supporting friends and family, so that everyone could participate and appear 'equal' in ability, social and economic status.

THE SCOTTISH WOMEN'S RURAL INSTITUTE

The village hall is a public amenity. It hosts a large number of events as the hall is, apart from religious premises and the school-hall, the only public indoor meeting place for large social groups.

The hall is the venue for monthly meetings of the Scottish Women's Rural Institute (W.R.I.). The W.R.I. has been present in the village for decades but attendance has always been poor, largely because of religious reasons: the Brethren had previously forbidden individuals to be members of any kind of social group or organisation other than the Brethren. Even the local Church of Scotland held that social activities were irreligious.

Meetings always have a high percentage of country women attendees. They form the bulk of the committee and just over half of the audience. At one meeting I recorded that only seven out of eighteen women present were fisher women.

The meetings centre around crafts and 'home-making' skills: therefore they have high practical value. Nevertheless village women will not attend if they have been out without their children once already that week, or if children's events run concurrently. Women regard W.R.I. meetings as self-indulgent and therefore secondary to their primary roles.

The village women who attend enjoy the companionship and fun and enjoy learning new skills and sharing ideas. These women do not see the W.R.I. as morally-suspect or detrimental to their roles as housewives and mothers. Most of the women attending seem to have more liberal religious beliefs than those who do not attend.

Village women attend only if they know that a close or good friend is also attending. Close friends often sit together and because they also try to bring their friends along this can lead to

tensions and perceptions of division or cliquishness, as in fisher versus country, and rich fisher versus poorer fisher: Ann pointed to a purse skipper's wife, a purse mate's wife, and a wealthy shop-keeper's wife and said that they were 'cliquish' and rejected others' friendships.

The fisher and country women tend to wear different kinds of clothes, the fishers wearing more expensive and 'dressy' clothes. However, divisions are generally secondary to having fun and participating.

Balnamara country-fisher boundaries disappear when non-local guests are invited to attend.

THE FLOWER SHOW

The village hall also hosts the annual Balnamara Flower Show. The Flower Show has existed for decades and, according to the elderly, is not nearly so well-attended or contributed to as it was before. Attendance has no doubt been affected by the availability of transport and attractions elsewhere, by wider social connections with other places and perhaps by changes in a sense of community involvement.

A local committee organises the Show. Most committee members are non-fisher and have experience of running formal committees. The doctor's wife complained that the same people ran the Flower Show committee and the village hall committee: she wanted fisher people and others to get involved but disregarded local women's lack of public confidence and committee experience as well as their commitment to their children and fear of offending others.

Flower Show entries are open to all. The main entry sections include: plant-growing, vegetable-growing sections for adults and children, women's crafts, women's baking, cut flowers, art and photography (adults and children), and a very large children's section of arts and crafts. Most of the village entries are by women and children (men are away and have fewer hobbies). The vegetable section is dominated by men from outlying country areas.

Couples come to the Show to support their children, to socialise and enjoy themselves, and to meet others in the community. Judging of entries is completed in the morning and the public are allowed entry in the afternoon. The Show demonstrates individual talent at home-making through practical skills (cooking, vegetable growing) and artistic skills (sewing, knitting, embroidery, photography and drawing). The largest section is for children: teachers encourage children to contribute and compete for prizes. Children's and women's work dominate the entries and embody the practical creativity of women in contributing to family and community life.

Only country men enter the competitions as they are at home often enough to have home-centred hobbies.

The Flower Show is a popular event, particularly with couples and children, but not with the young and single. They find such social events embarrassing and inappropriate to their interests, being neither children nor interested in home-making skills.

A great deal of socialising happens at the Flower Show: this clogs up the floor space as people hold conversations with people they do not see often.

Children and adults eagerly check their exhibits to see if they have won a prize. This generates a competitive atmosphere and resulted in my great-aunt in her eighties exclaiming with delight to have received a first prize. People note and comment on who have won prizes, and if they have done so before. Those who have won several prizes are especially noted.

Some people have gained a reputation for success and this discourages others from competing: for example, Eliza refused to enter her pancakes because a peer had won several prizes each year for her baking. Although competition generates much banter and self-deprecation the pressure is keenly felt. Eliza privately perceives the Show as competition for personal success, as do most people, despite the emphasis on community celebration.

The Flower Show atmosphere and organisation reflects the competitive but egalitarian ethos prevalent elsewhere in community life.

GALAS AND FAIRS

The annual Harbour Gala and Strawberry Fair are organised mainly by retired men. The Harbour Gala is organised by the Harbour committee, composed entirely of men, to raise funds for harbour repairs and as a community event. Galas take place at the harbour, with indoor stalls but space outside to mingle.

The events are generally well-attended. Like the Flower Show, these harbour events are held on Saturdays when men are at home and whole families can attend. The Gala attracts even young people who are best placed to compete in athletics games. The event is held in great good humour, is centred round the harbour (a symbol of the community's livelihood) and features competitions. A number of the competitions involve pair and team work, perhaps echoing family alliances, friendships and boat relationships, as well as individual effort.

The Flower Show, the Harbour Gala and the Strawberry Fair are the only events which are attended by the whole community. They are non-denominational, and involve all age-groups. They are organised by men, although women contribute by making food and preparing and serving at stalls. Again men are seen to represent the family, and indeed community, to outside interests. Men have more social confidence to do so.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The Church and Brethren communities offer a varied religious and associated social life to attendees. Commitment is rewarded by membership to various clubs and events within the religious group. Religious groups offer the most socially-acceptable, regular and committed form of group social activity. Religious groups also provide the most mixed form of regular social contact, bringing together people of different ages, sexes, marital status, religious belief/practice and socio-economic backgrounds. There are perceived patterns which undermine the idea of Balnamara religious groups being truly representative of a cross-section of the population. These are discussed at various points below.

WOMEN IN THE CHURCH

Although the Church and meetings welcome both sexes and all age groups authority is vested in the middle-aged and elderly in general, and in men in particular. All elders, brothers and preachers are male; no female has ever been invited to preach, even though female ministers are becoming increasingly common in the Church of Scotland.

Virtually all men and women in Balnamara in a religious group believe that women should not preach. Not even young married couples thought that a female could properly assume any of these structural positions: it "widnae be richt" Natalie said. This pattern of males occupying the central preaching roles in religious groups is reflected in religious worship in the home: at meal-times, if a male is present who is religious he will be asked to say prayer, regardless of the age, social position or number of any women present. If no adult male was present my aunt would ask one of her two grandsons, both under ten, to pray.

Exceptions are individuals who have left Balnamara and experienced life elsewhere. In an Open Brethren meeting Tina was incensed to be told that men had a duty to teach their wives God's Word, thus implying that women should take biblical authority from men and that women were not able to properly understand the bible without male guidance. Tina felt that she personally, because of her university education, could win any theological argument with any of the Brethren male brothers. She was generally angered by the inflexible attitudes of the meeting over the years which took no account of either personal ability or circumstance.

This situation parallels to a large degree the lack of formal influence many women have on boat business. They are denied access and therefore are denied direct influence or equal status with men.

An elder explained that the bible says that if a woman is unmarried she should 'serve God' since she cannot serve a husband. Thus being religious is seen as a socially-approved

alternative to getting married and gives a female a purpose in life.

Single and married women participate in religious life in a number of ways. Female missionaries are much approved of, as long as they minister to the unconverted in distant places; thus it is not necessary to consider whether a female preacher could be accepted in Balnamara.

Children in the Church of Scotland are encouraged to become missionaries: the minister said it had been a long time since the Balnamara church had produced a missionary. Producing a missionary from the congregation is perhaps akin to a family producing a child.

Women are also encouraged to be Sunday School teachers.

Women are seen as naturally linked with the general and religious education of children since they are their children's primary carers.

Of the five adults present at my aunt's lunch-table my aunt, her husband and her son-in-law are Sunday School teachers; also, her daughter 'covers' when one is absent. Both of the men are also elders. If men take on duties in the Church or meetings it is likely that their wives and families will also do so.

Being a Sunday School or Brethren children's teacher is regarded very highly for it demonstrates a sense of commitment to the faith and to the community. Yet Cora said that even though she had been a Sunday School teacher (and a treasurer for the Church's Woman's Guild) she still did not feel fully accepted in the village. Thus religious commitment does not carry quite the same prestige as being married does; the ideal is to be both married and committed to a religious faith.

Being an elder, brother, religious teacher or other such religious person is one of the few public commitments individuals can make other than to their livelihood and to their families.

Young people in particular are encouraged to show commitment to their religious group by serving the religious community.

When I offered to take responsibility for taping the Sunday services a widow in her seventies said I deserved congratulations for 'helping to do the Lord's work'.

Mina also commented that young people should take on religious duties. The church and meetings offer a structure of duties and responsibilities for men and women of all ages to ensure that there is continuity and permanence in the religious body's life and so that young people's influence on the religious body is filtered by the experience of older people. Elders tend to be men who are religiously committed.

Many of the elders are also successful fishermen who are used to acting on behalf of other men, as skippers or mates. Many of the Brothers are also successful skippers and fishermen.

Amanda suggested that the Church is attended by the socially and financially-successful: you need an expensive car and clothes to attend; and these wealthy people are 'hypocrites' whose religious piety and moral superiority do not square with their wealth and deception at work. 'Real' Christians are like her husband's relatives who are modest and not socially competitive. Thus although the religious meetings are theoretically open to all, some perceive there to be social barriers based on inequality and competition.

THE WOMAN'S GUILD

The Woman's Guild draws its membership from the Church of Scotland congregation. Women in 'the Guild' meet monthly to discuss topics related to church life. A frequent topic is missionary work where the focus is on the spiritual and physical poverty of families. Women identify very easily with images of families and they associate their economic poverty with a lack of Christian beliefs. Women donate sums of money or produce to help financially support and convert families so that they can learn Presbyterian lessons of hard work and piety, and thus can succeed as Balnamaricks do.

The Woman's Guild also sponsors the Christian education of a third world child. Letters from the child, and from female missionaries whom they also sponsor, are read out at meetings to encourage personal association with and commitment to the Christian project.

The Woman's Guild is run by a committee. The minister's wife is the committee leader and leads Guild meetings. Her position as the minister's wife and as someone unafraid to speak out and to lead others makes her the obvious choice.

Local women, however, generally avoid very public positions on the committee and fill them from a sense of religious duty.

Isabel, the treasurer, despite being among women and fellow Christians, and having worked with facts and figures all her working life, was always highly anxious when required to give a Treasurer's Report. She worried for days before her presentation of accounts.

Guild meetings frequently feature personal testimonies of the conversion of their Guild members to Christianity; they are called to do so by the minister's wife as a sign of their faith and as a religious duty to spread the Word. This public sharing of experience is personally extremely challenging for most Balnamara women who are unused to public speaking and who lack confidence in the value of their own experiences. One woman giving her testimony shook and started to cry; other women in the audience also cried.

Women take turns to bake and serve teas for the Guild. Most Guild members are grandmothers who have fewer family commitments and who enjoy the company of peers; these women provide catering at church social events and at formal Church occasions.

The Woman's Guild is run like a family household: for example, the women make decisions on how to spend funds, and they cater for one another. They are also part of an organisation run largely by men.

Women collect money to pay for flowers to decorate the Church communion table each week. This 'feminine' touch is the only female contribution to church services, apart from the preparatory cleaning work.

An elder's wife cleans the church each week but once a year the Guild organises a cleaning party of women who give the church a thorough wash and dust. If men are present they help by moving pieces of furniture, not by cleaning. Thus the church interior is

treated as if it were a secular house: indeed it is often called 'God's house' or 'the house of the Lord'. Women's role is to maintain the material fabric while men maintain the spiritual fabric of the Church.

Brethren women are also responsible for cleaning their halls. Men who attend the religious group do any repair work necessary in both the Church and other meeting halls, upon the approval of the elders and brothers.

The buildings are very strongly associated with the labour of the religious worshippers who finance and maintain the building fabric, caring for the building as if it were their own home. The Brethren buildings were paid for and renovated by the Brethren; and the new Church extension was paid for by the congregation. One wealthy elder was criticised by Amanda for paying for the extension and for supervising the building work: this increased Amanda's conviction that the Church was morally, practically and spiritually for, and owned by, only the wealthy.

Women also provide food and drink on religious occasions such as after funerals or when hosting a guest speaker. Women contribute ready-prepared food and serve and clear up afterwards in an extension of their everyday role at home.

Although a husband might help her at home, in both Brethren and Church of Scotland halls only women serves food to others at religious gatherings. This produces a sense of common purpose, confidence and enjoyment between the women: each woman works hard and conscientiously to do the job quickly and efficiently.

At a relative's funeral I noticed that the women serving teas were committed Christians, wives of religious 'brothers' and meeting members, and most were middle-aged. As the funeral service ended they each began to check the table which was already laid out with the necessary ingredients. I asked one of them what I could do. "I'na ken" she replied and consulted with another woman who suggested, eventually, that I could serve tea. Other Brethren women joined in to serve teas when the mourners returned from the churchyard. Thus women try to share

responsibilities equally and avoid creating hierarchical power structures.

At Open Brethren and Church of Scotland funerals the pattern is the same: while virtually all the men as head of their households attend the churchyard burial most of the women stay in the hall after the service and take tea. No-one could explain why women did not generally attend the churchyard burial, except that this was a tradition. It may also have been so because the burial is a religious ceremony with which mainly men are associated.

Again it is mostly middle-aged women who organise the tea, sandwiches and biscuits: these are ordered from a local baker. Young married women do attend funerals but it is often difficult to find a baby-sitter and they usually prefer to not go to the burial unless it is a relative.

When the minister's wife called a meeting of young married Church women she explained that the older women felt disappointed that the younger women did not want to 'take over' or help out at, for example, funeral teas. The young women replied that they felt the older women were so capable that they did not appear to need help. Middle-aged women generally play a more committed and active role than younger women who see their first duty as being to their children.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS AND THEIR STRUCTURAL FEATURES

Women in the church identify primarily with their families, couples who are peers, and, more generally, with single-sex groups. These interests intersect, creating a complex web of personal and social connections.

Several generations of a family will attend the same meeting: attendance is usually a product of a family's historical allegiance to a church or meeting.

In the same way that sons become elders like their fathers, daughters often take on similar roles to their mothers. If Linda needed help with her Sunday School group she called on either her daughter or her nieces, Brigid or myself. Her daughter often deputised for her as a Sunday School teacher.

Level of commitment to the religious group not only reflects between parent and child but also between parents: most elders' wives had extra positions of responsibility in the Church which occasionally helped them to support one another.

Many couples share religious conversion histories in that, for example, they converted during the 1950's Billy Graham Mission. Couples recall these events quite frequently as an explanation of how and why couples are so friendly. Conversions often happen after a mission event and often peers convert together. My aunt converted with several of her friends in the 1950's; Nancy converted with her husband and about six of their peers in the early 1980's; and recently some people converted during the Billy Graham Mission.

I was always struck by the degree of affection my relatives had for others of their generation who converted at the same time. They spoke of each other as if they were siblings or relatives and regularly shared evening meals together.

The image of the religious group as a family is very common, encouraging members to care for each other and to tend to their religious duties faithfully. Church ideology that the church congregation and other Christians are a spiritual family is paralleled by and reinforces the secular importance given to the biological family.

An interesting development was 'house meetings', instigated by a visiting preacher in the 1980's. Two groups now run in Balnamara on a weekly basis, each attended by about four women.

Upon showing interest I was invited to join one group which met every Tuesday afternoon. Hettie, in whose house the meeting was held, explained that Balnamara women had first asked the minister for his approval to hold house meetings. The purpose of the house meetings was to bring women together during the week to pray.

In both prayer groups the women were in their seventies, although, theoretically, anyone was welcome.

Older people seemed more practically committed to their faith than younger people. For these older people religion may have

replaced other social roles such as those associated with dependent children and work. Their attention may also be more focused on their spiritual development and on the relative imminence of death (Jerrome, 1992).

Ruth occasionally went to the second group but disliked being made to feel obliged to go: like many other Balnamara women she did not want to feel committed to an informal group. She feared confrontation when she didn't go and generally was afraid to assert herself.

I attended one meeting at Hettie's invitation.

Ada, Hettie and Hettie's sisters explained the procedure to me so that I would understand and feel equally involved: I was encouraged to 'speak' to God during prayer if I felt I wanted to as everyone was given an equal chance to contribute. The prayer included mention of the women and children in missionary areas and war zones, fishermen at sea, their Church congregation and everyone in the village. They prayed that everyone would believe in God so that He could help them.

When I mentioned the women's prayer group to a relative whose husband was a Church elder she suggested that these women were too old and pious company for me.

Thus within the same religious meeting it is recognised that there are different beliefs and types of commitment which are partially explicable by and appropriate to generational groups.

The Church appears to sanction certain levels of spiritual authority in women when men are absent, for example, at meal prayers. Otherwise their role in Church and meeting hall is strongly related to their social roles as mothers, wives, housewives, carers of relatives and social organisers.

Religious doctrine and traditional attitudes have even influenced clothing in religious and secular settings. Modifications are made to female dress to suggest modesty. In church women always wear a skirt which covers their knees (though recently some women have worn mini-skirts). Nearly all Brethren women wear a hat, as do many of the older Church of Scotland attendees. An older Brethren woman quoted the Bible to me, saying that women should cover their heads in the sight of the Lord.

The Brethren and the Church of Scotland denounce liberal social attitudes: for example, they preach against pre-marital sex and homosexuality. They espouse that sex was a gift given by God only to married couples.

Outside the religious meetings there is great peer pressure among teenagers to have pre-marital sex. Many of the 'in-crowd' teenagers are regular Church and meeting attendees but as their association with the in-crowd grows their religious attendance on Sundays lessens. Some maintain both images of being religious and liberal by attending both groups, despite their contradictory nature.

Extra-marital relations are also forbidden and are virtually unheard of. One instance of adultery occurred while I lived in the village. The fisherman stopped attending church to escape the pressure being put on him by the minister, his wife and family and by the community. The affair confirmed community fears about the effect of 'outside' social and moral standards and about the potential influence of some incomers on the village. When he failed to return to his wife he was socially ostracised and felt unwelcome in the church or meeting. Villagers however had great sympathy for his wife, her children and her parents who were life-long Christians.

Private gossip about him was an implicit reminder to everyone in the village of the community's religious and social values and about the potentially negative influences of outside values and behaviour.

Single and married local men can attend the village pub with some impunity but women should not. One female incomer began working in the local bar and wore short skirts, make-up and so on. By being friendly towards the men in the bar she was suspected of being sexually-available and was approached repeatedly by pub regulars.

Divorce is virtually unheard of among village residents and is seen as a disgrace and sin by religious groups. A young Balnamara woman wished to marry a divorced man but the minister refused to marry them in church because the groom had already been married. The bride and her family, life-long

attendees, boycotted the Church for almost a year. Almost the whole community, those in the Church and in meetings, and people who attended neither, felt that the bride and her family had been uncharitably treated, even though they were aware of local religious practice.

A woman's religious affiliations are determined by her family and then by the religious affiliations of the man she marries. Because women accept that biblical authority is placed in men they generally follow their religious opinions. As Anna commented, many women of her mother's generation in Balnamara accept their husbands' views on religion and politics as their own:

"weemin jist .. think like their men" and "The weemin seem ti tik their opinion" (TR.14, AW). However, some women increasingly wish to form an independent opinion from their fathers and husbands. Although when Natalie and James George married she was as devout as he, later in their marriage his beliefs were more prescribed.

Couples do tend, however, to present a common front publicly in relation to religious faith. They probably also learn to compromise individual views vis-à-vis each other.

PART B

Below I discuss two forms of community dialogue which strongly influence Balnamara women's structural and ideological positions: gossip and tradition.

GOSSIP: DEFINITIONS

Although recognised as a very powerful type of social dialogue little has been written about the forms and functions of gossip or about female forms and uses of gossip (Oakley, 1974, p.15). A notable exception is Tebbutt (1995), but her analysis of gossip is confined to an historical context.

Gossip is now recognised as a form of social communication practised by both men and women (Oakley, 1974, p.15), although what they gossip about, and how, is influenced by their different, gendered social experiences. As a female I was made privy to comparatively little male gossip and this is reflected in

the ethnography below. I was, however, privy to and participated in female gossip: my success in gathering ethnographic material depended upon it.

Gluckman says that 'gossip and scandal' are "among the most important societal and cultural phenomena we are called upon to analyse" (1963, p.307). However the term 'gossip' is hard to define as it covers a variety of types of information, has often ambiguous moral connotations and can be used and interpreted in different ways.

'Gossip' is a verbal statement or comment on a third party's behaviour. Gossip is not necessarily drawn from first-hand observation but can be passed on from person to person and is moderated according to the recipient or giver's own knowledge of the situation; as such it is liable to exaggeration, distortion or falsification. Oakley's definition of the form and function of gossip include: the power to verbally comment on and thus control other people's behaviour (1974, p.15). I would extend this to include: the reflection upon, negotiation of and control of one's own behaviour; and the formation of a pressure group bridging formal and informal politics (Worsley in Oakley, *ibid.*). Oakley further suggests that gossip is a "form of unarticulated female power" (1974, p.15).

This latter suggestion is particularly interesting, given women's lack of formal power in other spheres of personal and social life (Oakley, *ibid.*). Other additions to the definition of the forms and functions of gossip include: the unification and affirmation of community values, the control of aspiring individuals and cliques within society, the selection of leaders, and the maintenance of group exclusiveness (Gluckman, quoted by Oakley, 1974, p.16); a pool of information linking families throughout a district (Hirschon, 1993, p.82).

Gossip is implicitly evaluative, although the receiver may be left to draw their own (assumed similar to transmitter's) conclusions, thus comparing comments both to what are assumed to be common patterns of thought and behaviour, and the gossip's own compliance with them.

Gossip is also reflective: the efficacy of cultural patterns of thought and behaviour is constantly challenged through the media of personal experience and observation of others' experiences. Thus gossip is also a mechanism for filtering change and for re-evaluating personal and social values and ideals.

Gossip - who and what is gossiped about - is a means of defining local identity, of defining who 'belongs' to Balnamara. To belong entails being 'known' and being a subject of gossip. When I refused to go to the bar because others would gossip my friend laughed and said that whether or not I went 'folk' would speak about me anyway, so I should do what I liked.

There is a huge tension between the desire for personal privacy and the need to share in social knowledge and experience of others. This is why the family and close friendships are so important: these relationships fulfil individual need for a sense of social connectedness with the need for intimacy, trust and privacy (see previous chapters of **WOMEN AND FAMILY NETWORKS**, and **FRIENDSHIP**).

EXPERIENCE OF GOSSIP

The inescapability of intense social scrutiny is reinforced by various pieces of advice: I was told "Ye canna hide nithin here, Gillian!" and "Ye canna shite bit aabody kens!" The threat of being the subject of gossip is a deterrent for many of public confrontation with community ideals.

Yet fear of social scrutiny of oneself is paralleled by a strong interest in others' lives: such interest is considered natural, and, in fact, necessary to monitoring one's own behaviour. To be like a Balnamarick, I was told, I too had to work hard to collect and disseminate information:

"Ee'll learn. Ee'll grow ti be lik aabody else - fin somebody gings by ee'll be lookin, yer neck stretchin oot! "

This comic representation of personal behaviour reflects a high level of self-awareness of self-contradiction because the commentator herself resented villagers' interest in her personal life.

Men also gossip and so social relations aboard the boat and on-shore emphasise values of privacy and trust in order to stem the socially and economically damaging flow of information to others.

As Sandy explains, details of a boat's economic arrangements should be as private and intimate to its crew as within a family:

SG: Ee widnae like .. een of yer crew's wives ti be tellin aabody through the toon hoo much money ye were gettin, an either criticisin the things thit ye were deen aboard i boat or tellin aa ither wives aa the information thit's comin fae the boat. Ye widnae really approve o that. Ye like ti think .. the crew's lik a bit o faimily .. a bit o loyalty within i crew, an try ti work igitheer for i common good, raither thin be tryin ti disrupt the harmony in the crew aa the time (SG, TR.163).

Of women in Balnamara Paul said:

PA: .. they're feart ti speak, ken .. Cos it's as close-knit a community .. It [gossip] wid be roon the toon in a meenit, so ye wid niver get naebody ti speak .. iver get onybody ti speak ... (TR.192, PA).

As Paul points out, Balnamara is 'close-knit': people have multiple social and economic connections; thus the potential for information leakage is very high.

Nancy commented that Balnamara people asked plenty questions about her but divulged nothing about themselves (TR.64, NN).

Balnamara people are generally cautious in trusting incomers with private information until they feel they know the person well enough to trust them.

Colin, an incomer, also thought that Balnamara people asked him a lot of questions; but Elaine thought locals knew what not to ask: they seemed to respect incomers' privacy.

I found that it was necessary to give out certain kinds of information to develop a friendship; but it was also necessary not to embarrass the listener by revealing too much private information: this might show that one could not be trusted with another's private information. Balnamara people, by asking questions, gave me the opportunity to influence their impression of me and to show how I understood their conceptual categories and could comply with them.

Incomers were frequently criticised for being unable to use this dialogue opportunity to their advantage: they did not reflect in their speech or behaviour a local sense of identity.

Incomers with no fishing background are at a huge disadvantage in being able to judge what information to give out to whom.

They do not know who is related to whom, or the history of others' relationships, to be able to gossip freely: Nancy found this very difficult, even though she was married to a Balnamara man (TR.65, NN). However, often local people themselves do not know others' distant kinship or friendship ties so they too are careful of to whom they gossip about what.

Gossip should be accurately given and received by two reliable people. To transmit gossip which is inaccurate can lead to personal embarrassment and loss of a friendship, at least temporarily, and can damage personal reputations: Isabel was very upset when her neighbour, to whom she had transmitted an inaccurate story, blamed her for his embarrassment and was very angry with her when he repeated 'wrong' gossip to a third party. Isabel and Tommy were both committed Christians and felt that to gossip was morally wrong: as Christians, they felt guilty for discussing and passing (wrongful) judgement on others.

Villagers often add: "It's maybe nae true" to abdicate responsibility incase the gossip is found to be untrue. Sometimes this phrase is sanctimoniousness and simply urges the listener to believe more readily. Previous behaviour or other evidence may be sought as corroboration or denial of the implications of a piece of gossip: people are often wary of accepting gossip as true.

Some people are known as gossips: they take too keen an interest in others' behaviour and can damage others' reputations.

However some people are regarded as too open with their own, and others', private information: the information is accurate and revealing, hence it may damage others' reputations. One friend's daughter was angry that her mother told people about her son-in-law's pending court-case: she said her mother was "ower open, tells folk nae only her ain business bit aabody else's". Generally the mother-daughter relationship should preclude leakage of embarrassing personal information; but although the daughter was proud of her mother's honesty and outspokenness at other times she preferred privacy when her own family's reputation was affected. The daughter could expect support from her own family but she feared a negative response from others.

Although everyone gossips some are known as greater gossips than others. Disliked most are gossips who seem furtive: those who are seldom seen but watch others from behind curtains. Two neighbouring pensioners were known as being very nosy. Both regularly were glimpsed watching their neighbours from behind their curtains. Both were retired and lived alone, thus watching the street was a hobby and a necessity, for it kept them informed about community life and gave them a vicarious sense of involvement. Although others understood the social isolation that old age often brings they did not enjoy being watched.

These tensions between public scrutiny and a need for personal privacy are particularly important for neighbours' relations. Neighbours may or may not also be personal friends but it is likely they will be aware of much of the external detail of one's life: for example, when you leave and enter the house, who your visitors are, and so on: thus neighbours can be sources of gossip. My house position was much envied: although I had neighbours no-one could see into my house. Women further up the street regularly complained that neighbours could see into their kitchens and bedrooms. Many houses have venetian blinds or slat blinds, as well as curtains which are half-closed, to protect the occupants' privacy.

Fishertown cottages are criticised for being tightly-packed together but council houses up the brae are little different.

While disliking others seeing into their house interiors some people with a seaward view have binoculars which they may use openly before friends to see what people outside are doing. My house was admired not only for its privacy but, ironically, for its view of the doctor's surgery, village hall and main road connecting the Fishertown with 'up the brae'. A friend joked that if she had my window views she would spend her day watching from the window. It was assumed that I would use the view to note outside activities at these venues.

My immediate neighbours and I valued our privacy but showed interest in each other. However we could hardly avoid noting each other's outside activities. If, for example I was passing her house and she was looking out of a window she would wave enthusiastically to reassure me that she was not 'spying'. I did the same. We often volunteered information about visitors and activities, even if we felt sure the other already knew, to demonstrate to one another that we trusted each other with the information.

Often there are old family connections between neighbours and this knowledge may be used to influence the development of good neighbourly relations. My nearest neighbour had been my mother's next-door neighbour and she constantly recalled memories of our family connections to create warmth, and a sense of history and trust between us.

Good neighbours can be called on for advice or help when family is unavailable or if it is a shared problem between neighbours. One needs some knowledge of a neighbour but, unless they are also close friends, an individual's privacy should be respected. When Marion and I visited each other we took care not to look around the other's house: if one's eye did light on anything this was commented on explicitly to avoid suspicions of gossip or spying.

When Marion showed me her phone bill I was embarrassed; but I was delighted that she trusted me enough to know I wouldn't discuss it with anyone else.

Marion repeatedly said we 'got on affa weel': we got on with our individual lives (didn't spy on the other person) but we always knew we were 'there' for the other person, if needed.

Villagers share information with close family and friends.

Marion's sister lived next door to my aunt and so my aunt often heard from her neighbour what I had told Marion I had been doing.

Janette had a different kind of neighbour, exemplifying the worst kind of neighbour. The neighbour frequently watched Janette and her visitors from behind a curtain or from a darkened room. She knew when visitors or residents came to or left the house, which Janette resented, so that she called her, irreverently, "her-next-door". The neighbour also listened through the adjoining walls to conversations in Janette's house. The neighbour admitted to having crawled into a cupboard in the adjoining wall to hear the conversation: she repeated to Janette what had been said!

Such inquisitive neighbours are not common but they often have the effect of making their neighbours more private and even furtive in their social movements: Janette always tip-toed into her house when she had been out late so that her neighbour wouldn't hear.

Most houses among the fisher population have a female full-time resident. Women, especially if they live alone, prefer having a female neighbour because they feel freer to call for their assistance and company and will not be suspected of sexual impropriety by others. A female living alone will usually call on a male relative for assistance rather than invite gossip by inviting in a neighbouring male.

Women also feel more comfortable with female neighbours because they share more interests. Social activities are mostly gender-specific.

Fishermen are usually absent from the village during the week so they may miss a lot of information including events and opinions which are shared between women. When two men are in women's company they talk about fishing-related matters while the women discuss family and others' activities and relationships.

Men expect that women will be better informed about community life than them because the men are not at home to hear and see what is happening in the community. Paul said that his wife knew incomers in Balnamara but he didn't because he was at sea all week: thus his knowledge of who lived in Balnamara was fairly static compared to his wife's knowledge. Men, on the other hand, are well-informed of fishing-related matters which they learn during the week at sea and from weekend conversations.

Although fishermen try to phone home at least once a week they ask for family news and only hear gossip if it is particularly significant. Private news or gossip is seldom broadcast on the boat radio frequency because of the danger of being overheard by others.

Just as ashore there are restrictions on what one talks about and to whom, there are restrictions on the flow of economic and especially private information aboard boats. Men are careful of how much intimate detail they reveal about their own lives, as are their wives, mothers, female relatives and their neighbours:

SG: .. the crew widnae discuss personal things about their faimily wi the rest o the crew (TR.160, SG).

They talk about general family activities but they do not discuss aspects of their relationships. If crewmen were best friends they might discuss this detail, but this is highly unusual. Sandy said that, for example, if a crewman were to share his worries about his wife's mental health it would lower morale among the crew. As Anna points out about Balnamara, "Naebody speaks aboot their feelins here" (TR.23, AW). The suppression of private or intimate information thus prevents damage to social status and personal feeling and it fosters independence and an attitude that difficulties are coped with.

REASONS TO GOSSIP

There is much gossip about people of high economic status. Gossip is a method of monitoring developments, of provoking

competition and thus viability. Gossip is also a means of controlling others' social status by approving or undermining it. Bungalow owners in Balnamara are often stereotyped as skippers or high earners and are referred to as 'them up i brae' or 'them up in i bungalows'. They are seen as the fashion-setters and as those with the highest social and economic prestige. Those most often talked about are the wealthiest and most influential in terms of providing jobs, of supporting institutions such as the Church or meeting, are community leaders and so on.

Yet although the wealthy and influential are aware they attract gossip they must disregard much of the negative gossip to maintain their social advantage.

Women are seen as representatives of family economic units: their husbands' successes as fishermen becomes their social successes too. If a female displays wealth in an ostentatious way, for example by wearing a lot of new and expensive clothes, other women may gossip about her as being 'prood'.

Crewmen share in their skipper's economic prestige, as do their wives; but there is an increasingly common perception of status and economic difference between the skipper and ordinary crewmen and their wives. Amanda thought that if she socialised with the skipper's wife others would gossip that Amanda was looking for special favours.

Being ostentatious with one's money invites speculation about whether the husband and wife can afford it. Financial ostentatiousness also invites gossip about the morals and religious integrity of both the husband and his wife.

Personal manner is very important: if a person is snobbish, unfriendly, unpleasant or wealthy they are gossiped about.

Thus people try very hard to be friendly towards others: this can stem public criticism of social or economic advantage or snobbery. Gossip thus has a levelling effect, both identifying and attempting to control those deemed anti-social or influential.

Bell (1974, p.243) uses West's (1945) concept of 'gossip cells' to describe the different kinds of groups who exchange certain kinds of information about certain people. The concept is also valid for Balnamara because gossip is exchanged largely between friends,

particularly close friends who are peers, kin, locals or incomers. These social characteristics often prevent the information from passing on to others who are not members of that same group. Gossip is more likely to be accurate and plentiful when the person being gossiped about is well-known or is perceived as being part of a 'gossip cell'. As Bell (1974, p.243) points out, information about someone in a different 'gossip cell' is likely to be scanty and inaccurate.

Those included in the 'gossip cell' share a number of characteristics, such as kinship, age, socio-economic status, gender, occupation, interest and religion; however the lack of a certain characteristic might also make them a target of gossip through perceived lack or opposition.

Women play a central role, through gossip, in defining the community.

Women, as permanent residents in the village, are highly influential in creating and maintaining the information network ashore and are very valuable links for men with the community, keeping them updated on social connections and events. Women also share in men's information about other fishermen and the fishing industry but men comment that often women are uninterested in lots of detail, and women think their husbands would rather forget about fishing while at home. Women do not discuss the fishing in any depth; intimate information about a husband's fellow crewmen is shared largely with parents or close friends. This agrees with Sandy's statement that the crew must be loyal and keep boat information private as rancour is destructive of crew relations.

Ashore and at sea, men and women monitor the behaviour of others' spouses through gossip, but the gossip is unlikely to be passed back directly to the offended spouse. Yet fear of gossip is supposed to prevent inappropriate spouse behaviour.

TRADITION AND COMMUNITY

AW: .. ye've got ti hae fit aabody else his an ye've got ti be like aabody, an ye've got ti think lik aabody else (TR.34, AW).

Gluckman identifies two functions of gossip: they are the unification and affirmation of community values, and the maintenance of group exclusiveness (1963, p.307). These functions underlie the notion of village tradition which is often used to lessen the impact of change on the community. Others' behaviour is compared to what are held to be traditional values and modes of behaviour. Consequently the concept of tradition and the fear of being gossiped about by disregarding tradition act as filters of change.

Tradition is very difficult to define. It seems somewhat paradoxical that Balnamara has survived because it is both highly adaptive to technological change in fishing especially but also in the home; and yet Balnamara is socially very conservative, filtering change by asserting the value of 'tradition' and social and economic stability.

Balnamaricks are known by other fishers and neighbours as wealthy, conservative, religious and inter-related: all of these things together are used to explain their continuing economic success as fishers and their success in maintaining a significant population number.

Non-villagers resent the moral high-ground which being religious confers on Balnamara residents. They also resent the success of Balnamara economic strategies, which are informed by religious perspicacity.

Anna thought that the two most remarkable things about the community which most strongly characterised Balnamara were religion and the pressure to 'be the same as everyone else', both being very conservative social forces.

Anna comments that in Balnamara people accept 'tradition' in terms of personal and gender roles, and social and economic lifestyle: they think "'At's life, at's jist the wey it is'" (TR.23, AW), and by discouraging expressions of personal struggle: "Naebody speaks aboot their feelins here" (TR.23, AW). Anna attributes this kind of thinking to older people especially but is also personally affected by it herself.

Anna thought everyone's perceived acceptance was thought "natural" (TR.23, AW), but she herself found it limiting.

'Tradition' provides an explanation for the way things are and should be; yet individuals privately often challenged the rules they themselves helped conserve, such as strict religious observance on Sundays.

Although religion was seen by outsiders and locals as a very important 'traditional' influence in deflecting social and religious change (by asserting a literal approach to biblical interpretation, and thus by being uninfluenced by current social interpretation) Anna thought that the pressure to be the same as everyone else is a stronger influence than religious doctrine and is the strongest social influence in the village. However, social and religious influences are intimately connected and informed ideas of what is acceptable or morally-correct in both religious and secular spheres: those who did not attend weekly religious meetings showed resentment of the implied moral superiority of the religious and pointed out their moral faults.

Middle-aged and elderly people were generally seen as the embodiments of conservatism and tradition; this was exemplified by the power invested in the middle-aged and elderly in the Church and meetings. Many men influential in religious structures had high social and economic prestige also.

Young people involved formally in religious structures would have liked to introduce change according to their own social and religious experience but felt over-shadowed by older religious people and the weight of traditional opinion.

Brigid felt guilty about allowing her children to sledge on a Sunday. She would, she joked, be thrown out of town if others found out. Nobody, she explained, allows such things, 'you just know not to do it'.

Brigid felt hypocritical because she attended church, yet she sometimes interpreted situations according to her own and her family's needs. She said that perhaps she and her family were all hypocrites, that they failed to live up to ideal standards.

Brigid said it was difficult to change in a small village because people were so inter-connected and the pressure to conform was so great. One had to move with the times, she said, yet even when the present generation of old people died things would not

change: traditional views of correct behaviour and the strength of conservative thought implicit in religious interpretation and social attitudes had come down through the generations and were on everyone's conscience, even on that of young children.

Yet Brigid broke with tradition and does so at other times, especially when out of the village among strangers. If the children's father, a church elder, found out, said Brigid, he would make the children go twice as often to church as punishment. Yet he would not refuse to ski on a Sunday when well out of view of the village. The couple were forced to comply with general opinion yet expressed their own opinions when among enough others of like-mind. It is also interesting that Brigid's husband felt he could behave in contradictory ways before his children; thus they learned to manage social appearances.

The non-religious also feel constricted by traditional religious attitudes. Many choose to comply with Sabbath 'taboos' such as against washing one's car or hanging out washing to dry, so as not to offend neighbours. Others defy 'taboos' and do a limited number of things which they know will offend. Amanda expressed anger at having to comply with religious beliefs she thought unrelated to real Christian behaviour and laughed at herself by saying she couldn't resist hanging out her washing on Sundays. Her mother did so too so Amanda had a family precedent and family support against others' disapproval.

Richard returned to Balnamara after five years' absence to claim that little had changed apart from the growth of oil-industry jobs and a decline in religious attendance. Although there were other changes - girls looking for skilled work and training opportunities rather than unskilled menial jobs- women's work had changed little and young men still shared their elders' attitudes that women were not 'liberated', or equal in status to men. Nancy commented that Balnamara people all tried to behave and look the same but that by 1991 change was afoot: young people were no longer 'carbon copies' of each other, as their parents tended to be, she said (TR.66, NN). Then, when I asked Nancy why she wore the same aerobics clothes as her classmates she replied that a person would look an 'oddity' otherwise.

Even those who espouse change have to live certain contradictions in order not to feel ostracised.

When I asked Anna what feature of living in Balnamara she would like to change, if she could, she replied:

AW: .. jist the feelin o haein ti be lik aabody else .. I think at's the strongest thing there is here, apairt fae religion ..

.. ye've got ti hae fit aabody else his, ye've got ti be like aabody, an ye've got ti think like aabody else. I think at'll maybe change (TR.34, AW).

Thus tradition, gossip and material competition are levelling factors which help maintain social and economic stability and common identity.

Individuals quote 'tradition' as an explanation for their behaviour only when they choose to.

Asserting traditional values and thus asserting moral superiority becomes irritating if done too frequently: Felicity was mocked by others generally for her sage, pious old-dame appearance. She tried to avoid all public and private controversy. This frequently irritated all who knew her: even her husband teased her that she interpreted 'tradition' too literally, and was thus inflexible.

Several people I knew had left the village for educational purposes and had returned, more independent and self-confident. Each of them advised me to behave as I wanted because local people would gossip about me anyway. Natalie said:

NN: I dinna care a fart fit Balnamara folk thinks o ma! I'll dee fit I like! Fit business is it o theirs fit I dee? I eest ti worry aboot fit folk thocht, bit I think eence ye're awa fae't .. ye dinna care ony mair".

Tina was frequently gossiped about, partly because she was female and a mother but behaved as a single man. She had no close friends in the village apart from me and her family. Indeed

she was likened to her other family members who were regarded as unstable.

Natalie constantly challenged traditional attitudes; she was proud of this, claiming

NN: If I think somethin, mair thin affen I'll say it .. if they're nae pleased, too bad. I'm nae carin if they're pleased or no" (TR.47, NN).

Natalie knew that people would not accept her criticisms of their children or religious beliefs; nonetheless she made such criticisms and challenged local behaviour. Her close friends laughed but others were embarrassed or privately criticised her as unstable. Natalie remembered always having been one to challenge established ideas: she frequently was blamed for childhood pranks. This, she said, "maks ye mair prone ti be coorse" - the more she was criticised the more defensive she became.

Natalie would also challenge her parents on decisions affecting her, even though she was afraid of her father's anger: she would reason with them, using her peers' parents as examples of good parenting.

Natalie said she believed in honesty, not in hypocrisy, which was how she often construed the compromises made by her parents and their peers as they tried to balance traditional attitudes and behaviour with social change.

Natalie said her marriage was a catalyst for the growth of her confidence and self-consciousness. When her opinions were repeatedly ignored by her husband she learned to speak more honestly from her own perspective.

Anna's husband was more outspoken than Anna and she worried about this a great deal early in their marriage, that he would upset people in Balnamara. Anna claims that she is now less bothered by it; she has, she says, either got used to it or else she herself has changed. Like Natalie, Tam is known to say what he thinks, regardless of what others think.

People in Balnamara learn how seriously to take these comments and learn to make allowances for ideas which are not totally

destructive: Natalie, for example, was often called "an affa case", which is an affectionate way of sanitising and accepting outrageous comments and ideas.

Villagers do value honesty; but they also value those who are careful not to offend others. Serious criticism should be made in private among close friends and family. Those who frequently make damaging remarks are thought of as unstable and undesirable company.

Those who criticise should be seen as committed to living in the village and as principled in what they do: incomers who perpetually moan about Balnamara are resented by locals and incomers who do accept local identity. Indiscreet criticism leads to social isolation and exclusion.

Those who publicly conform with Balnamara attitudes and behaviour are often described as 'stable' or 'settled'- they do not threaten social and economic stability. Those who constantly challenge these roles are 'unstable' or 'nae verra wise'. However s/he who challenges tradition but who acts responsibly towards his/her family is more likely to be called 'an affa case', which is a much more affectionate, humorous description (akin to another Scottish term, a 'character'). 'An affa case' adds humour, variation and a challenge to daily life, but someone who is unstable is a threat to tradition and the continuity of cultural behaviour.

However, as people in Balnamara face more complicated issues and deal with more and more outside ideas they are flexible in new ways which allow them to continue developing their sense of tradition, continuity and shared common values, and yet enable them to adapt to change.

SUMMARY

Women's participation in social events is heavily influenced by an ideology of the primary importance of the family, by morality messages about women's roles as 'good' wives and mothers, by their lack of formal representation in community and church group structures and by women's lack of self-esteem and self-confidence.

Women also are wary of public scrutiny and thus privacy is maintained by limiting social involvement with others, apart from their kin and close friends (see previous chapters on **WOMEN AND FAMILY NETWORKS** and **FRIENDSHIP**). Kin and close friends socialise together, obviating the need for support or socialisation through other social groups.

Recently young women have shown new enthusiasm for developing new interests but generally such activity groups are short-lived as children are prioritised, child-care support is unreliable and women lose confidence and motivation. Gossip and the mythology of tradition have been shown above to be forms of community discourse which analyse and filter change, which profoundly influence women and men's involvement in social and religious activities, and which consequently reinforce communal identity and stability.

FINAL REMARKS

In Balnamara gender is a 'primary organising principle' (Callaway, 1992, p.34). Adult women in Balnamara are defined in terms of their roles in supporting their families as mothers, housewives, and as family networkers, while men are defined as the family breadwinners. The ideology of family permeates the whole of community life so that work divisions are rationalised as the best solution to supporting family life.

I have shown how women show their commitment to the family by becoming full-time mothers and housewives and by setting very high criteria for the demonstration of their commitment. Both close friendships and kin networks provide women with support in their roles as housewives and mothers. While kin relationships reinforce a woman's roles as a married woman and mother, friendships support a woman in these roles by allowing personal expressions of disagreement with aspects of her family roles in a private context.

A woman's role as family worker means that her opportunities to participate more widely in the community are often limited to activities which support her in her family roles. Indeed community activities are defined largely by their specificity to the family. Thus the family is shown to be intimately connected with definitions of the community; and women's roles underpin and underwrite these definitions.

I have also tried to demonstrate how women accommodate tradition and change in the multiplicity and flexibility of women's interpretations of their roles, despite community and family pressures to be the same as everyone else, to accept tradition and to cope by suppressing inability or desire for change.

I have highlighted how seriously women take their roles. They see their abilities as mothers and housewives as a reflection not only of their own 'womanliness', but as representing the moral

and social status of their families within the community. Through high cleaning standards, and the importance given to achieving other high standards of aesthetic appearances related to the family, a woman asserts the equality of her family in a community where there are increasingly obvious status differences.

The high standards achieved by women in their work for their families is shown to be the source of their confinement to those roles but is also, in their husbands' view, the source of women's power in the family. Women can regulate their husbands' involvement with their children and his role in the home.

However women are shown to use their roles and their consequent powers within the home and family life with discretion, and with empathy for their husbands.

The role of the young woman's mother is demonstrated to show how mothers support their daughters in their family roles, but also how they block change in their daughters' interpretations of what their roles should be. Women point out that their mothers are their most vital source of practical support while their husbands are at sea so that their exploration of new roles depends upon their mothers' support.

Young women's attempts to explore new roles outwith their family roles are further hampered by a profound lack of self-confidence. Lack of confidence in women stems from the emphasis placed on equality between community members, the lack of role models of women participating equally and visibly with men in public life, the emphasis in the community on everyone appearing to think and act like everyone else, and the emphasis placed on a conservative approach to change.

Many young women feel that it is too difficult for them now to change their roles as mothers and housewives significantly. They are aware of new role models outwith the community and of looming future changes in fishing economics and in fishing communities. They channel their interest in both men and women having greater choice in their future roles by concentrating on encouraging their children to consider different possibilities. Parents are aware that encouraging such change has

major implications for the future structure of family life and hence for the future of the community.

Women, as the mothers of their children, have a key role to play in influencing the nature of their children's lives, in defining their own futures, and in influencing the future of the community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu-Lughod, Lila, 1986, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*, University of California Press, London.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila, 1993, *Writing Women's Worlds: Bedouin Stories*, University of California Press, Oxford.
- Allan, Graham A., 1979, Ch. 9 (pp. 135-141) in *A Sociology of Friendship and Kinship*, George Allen and Unwin, London.
- Allan, Graham, 1985, Ch.5 (pp. 78-99) in *Family Life: Domestic Roles and Social Organisation*, Blackwell, London.
- Allan, Graham, 1989, *Friendship: Developing a Sociological Perspective*, Harvester and Wheatsheaf, London.
- Allan, Graham and Crow, Graham, 1989, Introduction (pp.1-13) in *Home and Family: Creating the Domestic Sphere*, MacMillan Press, London.
- Anson, P.F., 1932, *Fishermen and Fishing Ways*, Harrap and Co., London.
- Anson, P.F., 1945, *Harbour Head*, John Gifford Ltd., London.
- Anson, P.F., 1950, *Scots Fisherfolk*, Saltire Society, Edinburgh.
- Ardener, S., (ed.), 1993, *Defining Females: The Nature of Women in Society*, Berg, Oxford.
- Ardener, Shirley (ed.), 1993, Ch.1 (pp. 1-30) in *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, Berg, Oxford.
- Armstrong, Karen, 1977, 'Women, Tourism, Politics' (pp. 135-145) in *Anthropological Quarterly*,
- Armstrong, Karen, 1978, 'Rural Scottish Women: Politics without Power', (pp. 51-72) in *Ethnos 43*, The Ethnographical Museums of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Bailey, F.G., 1971, 'Gifts and Poison' (pp. 1-25) in Bailey, F.G., (ed.), *Gifts and Poison: The Politics of Reputation*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Bailey, F.G., 1971, 'The Management of Reputations and the Process of Change' (pp. 281-301) in Bailey, F.G., (ed.), *Gifts and Poison: The Politics of Reputation*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Baks, C. and Postel-Coster, E., 1977, 'Fishing Communities on the Scottish East Coast' in Smith, M.E. (ed.), *Those Who Live from the Sea*, St. Paul.
- Banff and Buchan District Council Leisure and Recreation Department, 1993, *The Five Toons Festival Collection*, Banff.

- Bell, Colin, 1974, 'The Use of Gossip and Event Analysis in the Study of Suburban Communities' (pp.241-258) in Bell, Colin and Newby, Howard (eds.), *The Sociology of Community: A Selection of Readings*, Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.
- Bell, Colin, 1990, 'Middle Class Families, 1964-1989' (pp. 13-34) in Harris, C.C., *Family, Economy and Community*, University of Wales, Cardiff.
- Bell, E., and Newby, H., 1976, 'Husbands and wives: the dynamics of the deferential dialectic', (pp. 152-168) in Barker, Diana Leonard and Allen, Sheila, *Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage*, Longman, London.
- Bell, Diane, Caplan, Pat & Karim, Wazir Jahan, 1993, *Gendered Fields: Women, Men and Ethnography*, Routledge, London.
- Bell, Phillip G., 1986, 'Essay for Scottish History Department on social and economic development in a Scottish parish', Edinburgh University.
- Bell, Phillip G., 1988, 'The Scottish Fishing Industry c.1788-1848: Economic and Social Change Along the North-East Coast-The Silver Darlings and the Fringe of Gold', unpublished dissertation, Dept of Scottish History, Edinburgh University.
- Bennett, Margaret, 1989, *The Last Stronghold: The Scottish Gaelic Traditions of Newfoundland*, Canongate, Edinburgh.
- Berryman, Julia C., 1991, 'Perspectives on Later Motherhood' (pp.103-122) in Phoenix, Ann, Woollett, Anne and Lloyd, Eva (eds.), 'Motherhood: Meanings, Practices and Ideologies', Sage Publications, London.
- Blumberg, Rae Lesser, 1993, 'Poverty Versus "Purse Power": The Political Economy of the Mother-Child Family' (pp. 13-52) in Mencher, Joan P., and Okongwu, Anne, *Where Did All the Men Go? Female-Headed/Female-Supported Households in Cross- Cultural Perspective*, Westview Press, Oxford.
- Bochel, Margaret, 1979, *"Dear Gremista": The Story of Nairn Fisher Girls at the Gutting*, Nairn Fishertown Museum, Nairn.
- Bott, Elizabeth, 1957, Ch. 4 (pp. 97-113) in *Family and Social Network: Roles, Norms, and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families*, Tavistock, London.
- Boyd, Kenneth M., 1980, *Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family 1850-1914*, John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.
- Brannen, Julia and Moss, Peter, 1991, Chs. 12, 13 and 14 (pp. 214-262) in *Managing Mothers: Dual Earner Households After Maternity Leave*, Unwin Hyman Ltd., London.

- Brannen, Julia and Wilson, Gail (eds.), 1987, *Give and Take in Families: Studies in Resource Distribution*, Allen and Unwin, London.
- Bremner, J.N., 1992, *Jessie's Vision* (no publication details available)
- Briggs, J.L., 1970, *Never in Anger*, Harvard University Press, London.
- Buchan, Margaret, 1983, 'The Social Organisation of Fisher Girls, (pp. 35-51) in Glasgow Women's Studies Group (eds.), *Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences, 1850-1982*, Pressgang, Glasgow.
- Bulmer, Martin, 1987, Chs. 2 and 3 (pp. 37-107) in *The Social Basis of Community Care*, Unwin Hyman Ltd., London.
- Byron, Reginald, *Sea Change*:
- Callaway, Helen, 1992, 'Ethnography and experience: gender implications in fieldwork and texts' (pp. 29-49) in Okely, Judith and Callaway, Helen, *Anthropology and Autobiography*, Routledge, London.
- Campbell, J.K., 1974, *Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values of a Greek Mountain Community*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Caplan, Pat, 1992, 'Spirits and sex: a Swahili informant and his diary' (pp. 64-81) in Okely, Judith and Callaway, Helen, *Anthropology and Autobiography*, Routledge, London.
- Carsten, Janet, 1987, 'Analogues or Opposites: household and community in Pulau Langkawi, Malaysia', (pp. 153-168), in MacDonald, C., (ed.), *De la Hutte au Palais*, (no publication details).
- Carsten, Janet and Hugh-Jones, Stephen (eds.), 1995, 'Introduction' (pp. 1-46) in *About the House: Levi-Strauss and Beyond*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Caplan, Pat, 1987, *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*, Tavistock Publications Ltd, London.
- Christie, Elisabeth, 1980, *The Empty Shore* (no publication details available).
- Clark, Gill M., 1995, 'Rural women: gender relations and social change in rural Scotland' in *Women in Rural Areas: The Issues and Potential Solutions*, Conference Proceedings, Business Information Source and SE&D.
- Cohen, Anthony P., 1975, *The Management of Myths: The politics of legitimation in a Newfoundland Community*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Cohen, Anthony P., 1978, 'Ethnographic Method in the Real Community' (pp. 1-22) in *Sociologia Ruralis* XV111 (1), Van Goram, Assen.

- Cohen, Anthony P., 1985, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, Routledge, London.
- Cohen, Anthony P., 1987, *Whalsay: Symbol, Segment and Boundary in a Shetland Island Community*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Cohen, Anthony P., 1992, 'Self-Conscious anthropology' (pp. 221-241) in Okely, Judith and Callaway, Helen (eds.), *Anthropology and Autobiography*, Routledge, London.
- Cohen, Anthony P., 1994, *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity*, Routledge, London.
- Condry, Edward, 1983, *Scottish Ethnography*, Association for Scottish Ethnography, Monograph No.1, Social Sciences Research Council.
- Coull, James R., 1989, 'Fisherfolk and Fishing Settlements of the Grampian Region' (pp. 26-49) in Smith, John S. and Stevenson, David, *Fermfolk and Fisherfolk: Rural Life in Northern Scotland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen.
- Cowan, Jane K., 1990, *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.
- Cramond, W.M., 1888, *Illegitimacy in Banffshire: Facts, Figures and Opinions*, Banffshire Journal Office, Banff.
- Crawford, P.I. & Turton, D., 1992, *Film as Ethnography*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Craik, Jennifer, 1989, 'The Making of Mother: The Role of the Kitchen in the Home' (pp.48-65), in Allan, Graham and Crow, Graham (eds.), *Home and Family: Creating the Domestic Sphere*, MacMillan Press, London.
- Crick, Malcolm, 1992, 'Ali and me: an essay in street-corner anthropology' (pp. 175-192) in Okely, Judith and Callaway, Helen, *Anthropology and Autobiography*, Routledge, London.
- Crow, Graham and Allan, Graham, 1990, 'Constructing the Domestic Sphere: The Emergence of the Modern Home in Post-War Britain' (pp.11-36) in Corr, Helen and Jamieson, Lynn (eds.), *Politics of Everyday Life: Continuity and Change in the Work and the Family*, MacMillan Press, London.
- Cunnison, Ian, 1966, pp. 116-118 in *Baggara Arabs: Power and Lineage in a Sudanese Nomad Tribe*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Davis, Keith E. and Todd, Michael J., 1985, 'Assessing friendship: prototypes, paradigm cases and relationship description' in Duck, Steve and Perlman, Daniel, (eds.), *Understanding*

- Personal Relationships: An Inter-disciplinary Approach*, Sage, London.
- Davis, Donna Lee, 1983, *Blood and Nerves: An Ethnographic Focus on Menopause*, I.S.E.C., Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's.
- Deem, Rosemary, 1987, "'My Husband Says I'm Too Old for Dancing': Women, Leisure and Life Cycles' (pp. 106-116) in Allat, Patricia, Keil, Teresa, Bryman, Alan and Blythaway, Bill (eds.), *Women and the Life Cycle: Transitions and Turning Points*, MacMillan Press, London.
- Devine, Fiona, 1989, 'Privatised Families and their Homes' (pp. 82-101) in Allan, Graham and Crow, Graham, *Home and Family: Creating the Domestic Sphere*, The MacMillan Press, London.
- Devine, Fiona, 1992, *Affluent Workers Revisited: Privatism and the Working Class*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- Dòmhnallach, Tormod Calum, 1987, *Clann-Nighean an Sgadain*, Acair, Stornoway.
- Dorian, Nancy C., 1985, *The Tyranny of Tide: An Oral History of the East Sutherland Fisherfolk*, Karoma Publishers Ltd., U.S.A.
- Douglas, Mary, 1966, *Purity and Danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Douglas, Mary, 1970, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Ecology*, The Cresset Press, London.
- Dubisch, Jill, 1991, 'Gender, Kinship and Religion: "Reconstructing" the Anthropology of Greece' (pp. 29-46) in Loizos, Peter and Papataxiarchis, Euthymios (eds.), *Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*, Princeton University Press, Oxford.
- Du Bois, Cora, 1974, 'The Gratuitous Act: an Introduction to the Comparative Study of Friendship Patterns' (pp. 15-32) in Leyton, Elliott, (ed.), *The Compact: Selected Dimensions of Friendship*, I.S.E.R., Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. Johns.
- Duck, Steve and Perlman, Daniel, (eds.), 1985, *Understanding Personal Relationships: An Inter-disciplinary Approach*, Sage, London.
- Ebdon, Rosamund, 1995, *Community Based Health Care the NGO Way: An Anthropological Study of a Maternal-Child Health and Family Planning Programme in Rural Bangladesh*, unpublished Ph.D thesis, The University of Edinburgh.
- Edgell, Stephen, 1980, Chs. 5, 8 and 'Introduction' (pp. 1-4, 53-71, 104-113), in *Middle-Class Couples: A Study of*

- Segregation, Domination and Inequality in Marriage*, George Allen and Unwin, London.
- Eisenstadt, S.N., 1974, 'Friendship and the Structure of Trust and Solidarity in Society' (pp. 138-145) in Leyton, Elliott, (ed.) in *The Compact: Selected Dimensions of Friendship*, I.S.E.R., Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's.
- Equal Opportunities Council, 1993, *Equal Opportunities for Rural Women in Scotland*, E.O.C., Glasgow.
- Finch, Janet, 1989, *Family Obligations and Social Change*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Finch, Janet and Mason, Jennifer, 1993, *Negotiating Family Responsibilities*, Routledge, London.
- Fraser, David (ed.), 1983, *The Christian Watt Papers*, Paul Harris Publishers, Edinburgh.
- Fraser, Nancy and Nicholson, Linda, 1993, 'Social Criticism without Philosophy: An encounter between feminism and postmodernism' (pp. 415-432) in Docherty, Thomas (ed.), *Postmodernism: A Reader*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead.
- Fricke, Peter H., (ed.), 1973, *Seafarer and Community*, Croom Helm Ltd, London.
- Gardenstown W.R.I., *Glimpses of Gamrie*, Gardenstown W.R.I. (no publication details available).
- Gearing, Frederick O., 1988, *The Face of the Fox*, Sheffield Publishing Company, Salem, Wisconsin.
- Geertz, C., 1973, *The interpretation of cultures: selected essays*, Basic Books, New York.
- Gerson, Kathleen, 1985, Chs. 2 and 5 in *Hard Choices: How Women Decide about Work, Career and Motherhood*, University of California Press, London.
- Giddens, Anthony, 1989, *Sociology*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Gilbert, Lucia Albino, 1993, *Two Careers/One Family: The Promise of Gender Equality*, Sage Publications, London.
- Gittins, Diana, 1985, Ch.6 (pp. 112-132) in *The Family in Question*, MacMillan Publishers Ltd., London.
- Gouldner, Helen and Strong, Mary Symons, 1987, *Speaking of Friendship*, Greenwood Press, London.
- Gowler, Dan, and Legge, Karen, 1978, 'Hidden and Open Contracts in Marriage' (pp.47-61) in Rapoport, Rhona and Robert N., with Janice Bumstead (eds.), *Working Couples*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London and Hewley.
- Gray, Malcolm, 1978, *The Fishing Industries of Scotland, 1790-1914: A Study in Rural Adaptation*, Oxford University Press.

- Gullestad, Marianne, 1984, *Kitchen-Table Society: A case study of young working-class mothers in urban Norway*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.
- Handy, Charles, 1978, 'Going Against the Grain: Working Couples and Greedy Occupations' (pp.36-46) in Rapoport, Rhona and Robert N., with Bumstead, Janice, *Working Couples*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London and Henley.
- Hastrup, Kirsten, 1992, 'Writing ethnography: state of the art' (pp. 116-133) in Okely, Judith and Callaway, Helen, *Anthropology and Autobiography*, Routledge, London.
- Hirschon, Renee, 1993, 'Essential Objects and the Sacred: Interior and Exterior Space in Urban Greek Locality' (pp. 70-86) in Ardener, Shirley (ed.), *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, Berg, Oxford.
- Hunt, Pauline, 1989, 'Gender and the Construction of Home Life' (pp. 66-81) in Allan, Graham, and Crow, Graham, 1989, *Home and Family: Creating the Domestic Sphere*, The MacMillan Press Ltd, London.
- Jackson, Anthony, (ed.), 1987, 'Reflections on ethnography at home and the ASA' (pp. 1-15) in *Anthropology at Home*, ASA Monographs 25, Tavistock, London
- Jamieson, Lynn, & Toynbee, Claire, 1990, 'Shifting Patterns of Parental Control' (pp. 86-116) in Corr, Helen and Jamieson, Lynn, (eds.) *Politics of Everyday Life: Continuity and Change in Work and the Family*, MacMillan Press.
- Jamieson, Lynn, & Toynbee, Claire, 1992, *Country Bairns: Growing Up 1900-1930*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- Jeffery, Patricia, 1979, *Frogs in a Well: Indian Women in Purdah*, Zed Books, London.
- Jerrrome, Dorothy, 1992, *Good Company*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- King, Margaret H., 1992/3, 'Marriage and Traditions in Fishing Communities' (pp. 58-67) in Fenton, A., (ed), *Review of Scottish Culture*, Canongate Academic and The National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- Knipe, Ed, 1984, *Gamrie: An Exploration in Cultural Ecology, A Study of Maritime Adaptions in a Scottish Fishing Village*, University Press of America, London.
- Kuper, A., 1991, *Anthropology and Anthropologists: The Modern British School*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Leyton, Elliott, (ed.), 1974, *The Compact: Selected Dimensions of Friendship*, Memorial University of Newfoundland, New Foundland.

- Loizos, Peter and Papataxiarchis, Euthymios (eds.), 1991, *Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*, Princeton University Press, Oxford.
- Lummis, Trevor, 1982, 'The historical dimension of fatherhood: A case study 1890-1914' (pp.43-56), in McKee, Lorna and O'Brien, Margaret (eds.), *The Father Figure*, Tavistock Publications, London.
- Luxton, Meg, 1980, *More than a Labour of Love: Three Generations of Women's Work in the Home*, Women's Educational Press, Toronto.
- Maclean, Charles, 1985, *The Fringe of Gold: The Fishing Villages of Scotland's East Coast, Orkney and Shetland*, Canongate, Edinburgh.
- McCrone, David, 1992, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*, Routledge, London.
- McGuire, Jacqueline, 1991, 'Sons and Daughters' (pp.143-161) in Phoenix, Ann, Woollett, Anne and Lloyd, Eva (eds.), *Motherhood: Meanings, Practices and Ideologies*, Sage Publications, London.
- McKean, Charles, 1990, *Banff and Buchan: An Illustrated Architectural Guide*, Mainstream Publications Limited, Edinburgh.
- Mansfield, Penny and Collard, Jean, 1988, Ch.6 (pp. 110-137) in *The Beginning of the Rest of Your Life? A Portrait of Newly-Wed Marriage*, The MacMillan Press Ltd., Basingstoke and London.
- Marshall, Harriette, 1991, 'The Social Construction of Motherhood: An Analysis of Childcare and Parenting Manuals' (pp. 66-85) in Phoenix, Ann, Woollett, Anne and Lloyd, Eva (eds.), *Motherhood: Meanings, Practices and Ideologies*, Sage Publications, London.
- Martin, Angus, 1981, *The Ring-Net Fishermen*, John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh.
- Mascarenhas-Keyes, Stella, 1987, 'The native anthropologist: constraints and strategies in research' (pp. 180-195) in Jackson, Anthony, *Anthropology at Home*, ASA Monographs 25, Tavistock, London.
- Mauss, M., 1954, *The Gift: forms and function of exchange in archaic societies*, (no publisher details), London.
- Mencher, Joan P., and Okongwu, Anne, 1993, 'Introduction' (pp. 1-12) in Mencher, Joan P., and Okongwu, Anne (eds.), 1993, *Where Did All the Men Go?: Female-Headed/Female-Supported Households in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Westview Press, Oxford.

- Mitchell, Jon P., 1995, *Gender, Politics and Ritual in the Construction of Social Identities: the Case of San Pawl, Valletta, Malta.*, unpublished Ph.D, University of Edinburgh.
- Moore, Henrietta L., 1988, 'Gender and Status: Explaining the Position of Women' (pp.12-41) in Moore, Henrietta L., *Feminism and Anthropology*, Polity Press, Oxford.
- Morgan, D.H.J., 1975, Ch.2 in *Social Theory and the Family*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Munro, Gillian, 1992/3, 'Tradition and Innovation in the Life of a Fisherman's Wife on the Buchan Coast', (pp. 68-76) in Fenton, A., (ed.), *Review of Scottish Culture*, Canongate Academic and The National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- Munro, Jean, 1989, 'The Planned Villages of the British Fisheries Society', (pp. 50-62) in Smith, John S. and Stevenson, David (eds.), *Farmfolk and Fisherfolk: Rural Life in Northern Scotland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen.
- Murray, Hilda Chaulk, 1979, *More than Fifty Percent: Woman's Life in a Newfoundland Outport 1900-1950*, Breakwater Books Ltd., Newfoundland.
- Nadel-Klein, Jane, 1988, 'A Fisher Laddie Needs a Fisher Lassie: Endogamy and Work in a Scottish Fishing Village' (pp. 190-210) in *To Work and to Weep: Women in Fishing Economies*, I.S.E.C., Memorial University of Newfoundland, St.John's.
- Nadel-Klein, Jane, and Davis, Donna Lee, 1988, *To Work and to Weep: Women in Fishing Economies*, I.S.E.C., Memorial University of Newfoundland, St.John's.
- Oakley, Ann, 1974, *Housewife*, Allen Lane, London.
- Oakley, Ann, 1974, *The Sociology of Housework*, Martin Robertson, London.
- Oakley, Ann, 1980, *Women Confined: Towards a Sociology of Childbirth*, Robertson and Co. Ltd., Oxford.
- Oakley, Ann, 1981, *Subject Women*, Martin Robertson and Co. Ltd, Oxford.
- Oakley, Ann, 1984, *The Captured Womb: A history of the medical care of pregnant women*, Blackwell Publisher Ltd, Oxford.
- Obeyesekere, G., 1981, *Medusa's Hair*, The University of Chicago Press Ltd., London.
- O'Connor, Pat, 1992, *Friendships Between Women: A Critical Review*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead.
- Okely, Judith, 1992, 'Anthropology and autobiography: participatory experience and embodied knowledge' (pp. 1-

- 28) in Okely, Judith & Callaway, Helen, (eds.), 1992, *Anthropology and Autobiography*, Routledge, London.
- Okely, Judith and Callaway, Helen, 1992, 'Preface' (pp. xi-xiv) in Okely, Judith and Callaway, Helen (eds.), *Anthropology and Autobiography*, Routledge, London.
- Owens, David, 1982, 'The desire to father: Reproductive ideologies and involuntary childless men' (pp. 72-86) in McKee, Lorna and O'Brien, Margaret (eds.), *The Father Figure*, Tavistock Publications, London.
- Pahl, Jan, 1989, Chs. 5-7 (pp. 63-152) in *Money and Marriage*, MacMillan Education Ltd., Basingstoke and London.
- Paine, Robert, 1974, 'Anthropological Approaches to Friendship' (pp. 1-14) in Leyton, Elliott, *The Compact: Selected Dimensions of Friendship*, I.S.E.R., Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's.
- Paine, Robert, 1974, 'An Exploratory Analysis in 'Middle Class' Culture' (pp. 117-137) in Leyton, Elliott, *The Compact: Selected Dimensions of Friendship*, I.S.E.R., Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's.
- Peristiany, J.G., (ed.), 1965, 'Introduction' (pp. 9-18) in *Honour and Shame: The Values of a Mediterranean Society*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd, London.
- Phoenix, Ann, 1991, 'Mothers under Twenty: Outsider and Insider Views' (pp. 86-102) in Phoenix, Ann, Woollett, Anne and Lloyd, Eva, *Motherhood: Meanings, Practices and Ideologies*, Sage Publications, London.
- Phoenix, Ann and Woollett, Anne, 1991, 'Introduction' (pp. 1-12) in Phoenix, Ann, 1991, 'Mothers under Twenty: Outsider and Insider Views' (pp. 86-102) in Phoenix, Ann, Woollett, Anne and Lloyd, Eva (eds.), *Motherhood: Meanings, Practices and Ideologies*, Sage Publications, London.
- Pitt-Rivers, Julian, 1965, 'Honour and Social Status' (pp. 19-78) in Peristiany, J.G., (ed.), 1965, *Honour and Shame: The Values of a Mediterranean Society*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd, London.
- Porter, Marilyn, (no date), 'She was the skipper of the shore-crew': notes on the history of the sexual division of labour in Newfoundland, essay, Dept. of Sociology, University of Manchester.
- Porter, Marilyn, 1988, 'When the Margins Meet: Thoughts Arising from Women's Economic Lives in Newfoundland', Discussion Paper for the Conference on Political Economy of the Margins, Toronto, 1988.
- Rapoport, Rhona and Robert, 1971, Chs.1 and 7 (pp. 15-34, 278-301) in *Dual-Career Families*, Penguin Books, Middlesex.

- Rapoport, Rhona and Robert, 1976, *Dual-Career Families Re-examined: New Integrations of Work and Family*, Martin Robertson, London.
- Rapport, Nigel, 1987, *Talking Violence: An Anthropological Interpretation of Conversation in the City*, Social and Economic Studies No. 34, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Richardson, Diane, 1993, *Women, Motherhood and Childrearing*, MacMillan, London.
- Ritchie, Michael, 1990/1, 'The Evolution of a North-East Coast of Scotland Fishing Village', Undergraduate dissertation, University of Dundee.
- Rosaldo, Michelle Zimbalist, 1974, 'Woman, Culture and Society: A Theoretical Overview' (pp. 17-42) in Rosaldo M.R. and Lamphere L., *Woman, Culture and Society*, Stanford University Press, California.
- Rush, Christopher, 1986, *A Twelve Month and a Day*, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen.
- Schneider, David M., 1968, *American Kinship: A Cultural Account*, Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey.
- School of Scottish Studies, 1971-present, *Tocher*, School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh.
- Sciama, Lidia, 1993, 'The Problem of Privacy in Mediterranean Anthropology' (pp. 87-111), in Ardener, Shirley (ed.), *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, Berg, Oxford.
- Scottish Office, 1996, *Scottish Office Statistical Bulletin, Housing Series*, HSG/1996/4, Table 10, p.9, HMSO, Edinburgh.
- Segalen, Martine and Zonabend, Françoise, 1987, 'Social anthropology and the ethnology of France: the field of kinship and the family', (pp. 109-119), in Jackson, Anthony (ed.), *Anthropology at Home*, ASA Monographs 25, Tavistock, London.
- Segalen, Martine, 1993, *Love and Power in the Peasant Family: Rural France in the Nineteenth Century*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Stead, Joan, 1990, 'Oradians and Incomers: Relationships on a Small Scottish Island', dissertation in Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.
- Stewart, R., 1986, *Sail and Steam*, Moray District Libraries, Elgin.
- Stiles, R. Geoffrey, 1972, 'Fishermen, Wives and Radios: Aspects of Communication in a Newfoundland Fishing Community' (pp. 35-60) in Andersen, Raoul and Wadel, Cato, *North Atlantic Fishermen: Anthropological Essays on Modern Fishing*, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

- Strathern, Marilyn, 1987, 'The limits of auto-anthropology' (pp. 16-37) in Jackson, Anthony (ed.), *Anthropology at Home*, ASA Monographs 25, Routledge, London.
- Summers, D.W., 1988, *Fishing Off the Knuckle - the Fishing Villages of Buchan*, Centre for Scottish Studies, Aberdeen.
- Taylor, J., (no date available), *Fishing the North East: A guide to the places, the people and their craft*, Famedram Publishers Ltd., Ellon.
- Taylor, J., and L., 1992, *Harvests of Herring*, J. and L. Taylor, Fraserburgh.
- Tebbutt, Melanie, 1995, *Women's Talk? A social history of 'gossip' in working-class neighbourhoods, 1880-1960*, Scolar Press, Aldershot.
- The Rural Women's Research Project (eds.), 1993, *The Lives of Rural Women in the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland and Great Britain: An Annotated Bibliography*, Rural Development Council for Northern Ireland, Co.Tyrone.
- Thompson, Paul, 1975, *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.
- Thompson, P. with Wailey, T., and Lummis, T., 1983, *Living the Fishing*, Routledge and Kegan Paul plc, London.
- Thompson, Paul, 1985, *Women in the Fishing: The Roots of Power between the Sexes*, in Society for the Comparative Study of Society and History.
- Thompson, Paul, 1988, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, 2nd edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Wall, Richard, 1992, 'Relationships Between the Generations in British Families Past and Present' (pp. 63-85) in Marsh, Catherine (ed.), *Families and Households: Divisions and Change*, The MacMillan Press, London.
- Waterson, Roxana, 1993, 'Chapter 8' (pp. 167-198) in Waterson, Roxana, *The Living House: An Anthropology of Architecture in South- East Asia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Watson, C.W., 1992, 'Autobiography and anthropology and the experience of Indonesia' (pp. 134-146) in Okely, Judith and Callaway, Helen (eds.), 1992, *Anthropology and Autobiography*, Routledge, London.
- Willmott, Peter and Young, Michael, 1960, *Family and Class in a London Suburb*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Willmott, Peter, 1987, *Friendship Networks and Social Support*, Policy Studies Institute, London.
- Wilson, C., 1990, *Where the Clock Stands Still*, Canongate Publishing, Edinburgh.
- Wilson, Gail, 1987, 'Money: Patterns of Responsibility and Irresponsibility in Marriage' (pp. 136-154) in Brannen, Julia

and Wilson, Gail, *Give and Take in Families*, Allen and Unwin, London.

Wimbush, Erica, 1987, 'Transitions: Changing Work, Leisure and Health Experiences among Mothers with Young Children', (pp. 149-163) in Allat, Patricia, Keil, Teresa, Bryman, Alan and Blytheway, Bill, (eds.), *Women and the Life Cycle: Transitions and Turning-Points*, MacMillan Press, London.

APPENDIX

- p.1 'I'm nae eese...'
'I'm no use for anything but scraping pans!'
- p.24 " .. at wis jist fit..."
'That was just what their mothers did, you see. So they were sort of brought up with that. That's just what they were accustomed to".
- p.24 "be lik aabody else..."
"be like everyone else. Nobody wanted to be different".
"It's just a case of looking at what everyone else is doing. It was never really spoken about".
- p.24 NN: .. he's nae gin...
He's not going to go out there to be hauling in a big pay for me to be going out there to work for money which we don't need. That was his attitude to women working.
- p.25 NN: No, niver...
NN: No, never.
AW: No, I don't think that was spoken about. Although he did a share of the cooking and so on to begin with .. It was just natural that I did everything then .. I was accustomed to it, because my dad is a fisherman. So that's just normal to me...
- p.27 AW: .. It must be awful...
AW: .. It must be awful you know, stuck on a boat, all week. Sometimes even longer. Living with certain men who are on the crew whom you maybe don't even like, having to suffer that kind of thing. Not getting home to your own bed every night.
- p.27 "oot hakin": out rambling about with no useful purpose;
- p.27 "aye on the heid o the road": always on the road/ always at the head of the road.
- p.29 AW: .. I wis jist used till it....

AW: I was just used to it because my dad is a fisherman. So that's seems normal to me.

p.29 AW: .. I hinna got a clue fit's...

AW: I haven't got a clue what's happening until he phones, until it's time to come home.

GM: When do you miss him most?

AW: Weekends, if he's not at home at the weekend.. Because everyone else is at home .. So when they're not at home it doesn't seem right.

p.30 WN: .. The first thing I get fin...

WN: .. The first thing I get when I come in the door is, "Right, we're going there" and "We're going here". And I say, "Alright, then".

I just like to keep a Sunday as a different day, a day of quietness, a day of rest, you see. But Saturday, that's a day for your family, a family day, you know.

p.30 GM: Fin i weeken's...

GM: When the weekend is at an end are you kind of half glad to see him gone?

AW: When they're at home ye want them to be away sometimes and when they're away you want them to be at home!

p.31 AW: Ye'll get snippets...

AW: You get snippets, you know, unless it's anything very important .. I think he likes to come home and forget about it.

p.31 WN: Ye've only got...

WN: You've only got thirty six hours, something like that. You've just got to make the best of it.

WN: Once you're married you don't want to go to the job, you know. Because you want to be at home watching your family growing up, and be at home with your wife, or whatever. Lots of times, I mean, you go away on a Sunday night and you just don't want to at all. You'd much prefer to stay at home, and you're just waiting for the end of the week, you know.

p.32 GM: Wis ye kinna ready...

GM: Were you sort of ready for him being away so much?

AW: I was used to it because my dad's a fisherman. But lately I've started thinking, well, that's not normal. There's more [choice] .. 'Normal' is being at home every night at five o'clock.

p.33 AW: .. ye've ti go where...

AW: You have to go where your husband goes, and that was it, you know. I just accepted that I had to go there, you know. And just get on with it.

p.33 "Bit she says she winna..." : But she says she won't move out of Balnamara now, you know".

p.35 AW: Ye've aye ti be...

AW: You have always to be out washing your windows, and looking after your house, and sweeping the roads, and things like this. I'm always out with the sweeping brush, making sure that people know I'm lovely and clean.

p.41 AW: if ye dee't...

AW: If you do it yourself I think everything's done much better. I just like to do it myself, you know, it's done properly, you know. If he was to do it I don't think I would trust him anyway.

p.42 "I'm faain ahin wi ma hoosework - bit ee dinna hiv ti gang awa si seen": I'm falling behind with my housework but you don't have to leave so soon.

"I hinna gotten oot o the bit the day": I haven't made any progress today.

p.43 "ee eest ti go roon cleanin i clean": I used to go round cleaning that which was clean.

p.43 "ma hoose is an affa midden": my house is like a rubbish tip/in an awful mess.

p.45 "I'm tired...: I'm tired. I am tired. I've run around looking after you all year.

"They aye ken they'll get a denner here": They always know they'll get food here.

"tay handit inti yer haan": tea handed to you.

"I hinna heen a seat i day...": I haven't had a seat today, cooking and looking after you lot since first thing this morning.

- p.46 AW: I think I'm rael...
 AW: I think I'm quite independent, you know. Well, I get - really I run the house, you know.
- p.47 NN: laid doon ma rules...
 NN: laid down my rules and I stuck to them. And he has changed drastically to what he was.
- p.49 AW: I dinna like im...
 AW: I wouldn't like him to do the cleaning. Because if you do it yourself, I think everything is done better. I don't think I would trust him anyway.
 He wouldn't do it if I was here because he would think that I would be making a fool of him, you know.
- p.49 bit cleanin's ...
 But cleaning, that's a different matter. I don't like him to do the cleaning.
- p.51 AW: apairt fae oot..
 AW: Apart from out working making the money that's all he does. You know, as regards financial things. I pay all the bills, banking, take note..
- p.51 AW: It's difficult...
 AW: It's difficult if he comes home on, say, a Saturday, when everywhere is shut.
- p.51 WN: An, bein at the fishin...
 WN: And, being at the fishing, not being often at home, you can't take an awful lot more to do with it, you know. I make all the major decisions, but you've just got to leave all the day to day running to Natalie, you know.
- p.51 PA: ye see...
 PA: You see, if just comes back to the fishing again because it's different from any other job, you know. Because you're away for five days and only home for two, you know.
- p.51 PA: [Women]...
 PA: [Women], they're the bosses in the house, like, oh yes. They bring up the children and everything, you see. It's up to them, you see. You have to leave it to them, you see.

- p.52 WN: .. Well,...
WN: .. Well, obviously the biggest responsibility is to take in the wage.
- p.53 "He jist haans me...": He just hands me the pay packet.
"I just gie her the pey packet": I just give her the pay packet.
- p.54 PA: .. we usually tik...
PA: .. We usually take a look on Sunday at all our bills. But she does it all, you know. She goes up to the bank and does all the business with the house.
- p.54 PA: Bit I wid say..
PA: But I would say that maybe I'm the boss overall. Yes, not the boss, but you know, I would have the final word over all, you know.
- p.55 PA: Ye see...
PA: You see, it just comes back to the fishing again because it's different from any other job you know. Because you're away for five days and only home for two, you know.
- p.55 EA: He disnae wirk...
EA: He doesn't handle any of the money. He just takes the money home and I...
PA: Spend it!
EA: Do what I like with it really. I could spend the whole lot and he would never know, you know. Some weeks he doesn't even ask what I've done with it, you know, he just hands me the pay packet, to me. And he asks me for money.
- p.57 AW: insurance...
AW: insurance, like house insurance, car insurance? He usually does that. He phones around, gets the best quote, all that. I would never do that on my own. That's like a joint thing. But if it's to be renewed, or keeping it on, I pay the bills automatically.
- p.58 NS: I widnae squan...
NS: I wouldn't blow my money up to my last penny. I always like to have something there.
- p.58 GM: Div you worry...

GM: Do you worry about the financial side of things and that?

AW: Oh yes. Your husband could have a good week one week and then next week he could have nothing, you know, depending on the weather, you know. You're not sure of a wage every week.

p.58 "jist spen as they gang": just spend as they go (without heed to saving)

p.58 "If the weemin..."

If the women in Balnamara could see what their menfolk have to face going to sea they wouldn't be so willing to spend so easily.

p.59 WN: Natalie worries...

WN: Natalie worries more that 'Well, is he going to have a job next week, is he going to take home a pay? She thinks it's a big thing, you've got to have a berth and you've got to be sure of your money coming in. But security isn't a thing which bothers me, you know.

p.59 "ye dinna ken if he's gaan ti hae a berth next week": you don't know if he's going to have a berth next week.

p.60 "I jist tak a say...": I just take a say, I just dig my heels in.

p.60 SG: I widnae hae...

SG: I wouldn't tolerate any interference from wives in the fishing at all. The wives shouldn't have any interest in it at all. They're not directly involved.

p.72 WN: She [his wife]...

WN: She [his wife] didn't want to come back to Balnamara to start with, she was settled well in Portmore. But Natalie is the kind that she doesn't really like change, you see.

p.72 "affa hameseeck": terribly homesick
"hame-drauchtit": homesick.

p.73 "I hoose is in..."

The house is in both our names, and everything was joint.

p.73 HAME-TIED: tied to the home (emotionally)

p.73-4 "As lang's yer able..."

As long as you're able you're best to stay in your own house.

"ye're aye tied..."

You're always tied to your own hearth, no matter where you go.

"I jist like ma ain fireside"

I just like my own fireside.

p.75 "Ye couldnae hae better thin at"

You couldn't get anything better than that.

p.76 "parteeclar": particular, fussy

"ower fussy": too fussy.

p.86 "Ken is, ye run oot o places for things"

Do you know this, you run out of places to put things.

p.89 NS: If we could...

NS: If we could afford it he would say "Yes". But if we couldn't afford it then I wouldn't think of buying, putting it forward in the first place.

p.90 NS: I wid tik...

NS: I would take the book and say 'that's the choice of material, which one do you think is best?' I would let him look and then I would say, 'Look, that's the design I want. What do you like? And he would say, "Oh, that's OK". That's it!"

p.97 AW: ..a bonny car

AW: .. a bonny car. It has to be, well, under two years old really, before you get down to that church, you know. It's a shame. Anyone who doesn't have that is looked on as a tink.

p.98 AW: It's a disgrace...

AW: It's a disgrace that you have to, you can't get in the church door unless you're dressed with hundred pound shoes on. You have to be dressed up.

p.98 AW: .. skippers' wives is a bittie...

AW: Skippers' wives are quite - you think they're 'very good', you know. So you wouldn't go up [to visit] unless you were very 'well in'.

p.100 NW: So there's nae wey...

NW: So there's no way that I would go about dressed up. And I just don't think they respect that. The young ones don't see that I do that because I want to do it.

p.102 TF: .. dinna compete really...

Don't compete really. There's no way they can afford their Mercedes or a BMW. There are a few that have that but most of them are second hand.

p.102 TF: the hooses were...

The houses were actually kept a good bit better in this area, because of the fishing village. Tidier and cleaner, and, I wouldn't say much more money but maybe more up to date.

p.102 TF: folk'll dee up...

People will do up a room in a farm house and it'll do them for ten, fifteen years. But in the village here it's inclined to be, as the fashions change they'll throw them out and just replace them. They've obviously got a lot more spendable income. And they replace them for the sake of keeping up with fashion.

p.102 TF: i maist difficult age...

TF: The most difficult age is when they have left the school and are working on the farm, and maybe getting £40 a week, compared to four hundred pounds a week at sea. That can cause quite a lot of friction on the farms.

p.103 TF: .. Difficult ti keep...

TF: It's difficult to keep them on the farm because they are so close to the village, well, a lot of them go to Erinbeg Academy with them. And they have too much contact with them. And they're inclined to be friends through their teenage years. And when they come to 17, 18, they all want cars; this is when it really tells.

p.114 AW: I dinna ken fit ither...

AW: I don't know what other people's attitude really was because they wouldn't really come up and say to you, "Well, I don't approve". They would just probably miscall you behind your back here..

GM: There must have been quite a lot of girls that..?

AW: There were a few at the time who got married so that it wasn't really so bad for me because there were two or three people pregnant at the same time who weren't married, so it was alright, you know. I still think that it's pretty common, you know.

p.121 "loonie": a boy
"quinie": a girl

p.122 AW: .. he's mair for his dad
AW: .. he prefers his dad to me. But I'm the one who's there all the time. But he still - he likes his dad best. He always has.

p.123 AW: .. He's good wi the bairns...
AW: .. He's good with the children. He wants to do it. He has always been very good, especially with Alasdair. He has always taken an interest in his upbringing..
GM: Does he read to them or anything like that?
AW: He did - yes, he reads things, stories and that to him, and explains. He has a lot of patience with him, explaining things to him when he asks questions, and just teaches him things.

p.123 "canna mak a fart o Francis": can't understand him at all.
"Ee're nae seekin...": You don't want to get married, do you?
You're just going to live with your mother, aren't you?

p.124 "Faa div ye like i best?": Who do you like the best?

p.126 NN: .. there's Fiona...
NN: .. There's Fiona off to school. I'm twenty-eight and that's her off to school. And that's me left - now what do you do with the rest of your life, see? It's pretty boring..
"Gosh, what are you going to do with the rest of your life?"

p.130 AW: It didnae buther ma..
AW: It didn't bother me .. I would have liked him to be there at the birth but he couldn't make it. So I didn't burst into tears or nothing like that. I just accepted it".

p.131 GM: Fin ye wis expectin...
GM: When you were expecting did you get a lot of support from the women round here and did you talk about it with your pals?

AW: Yes, with pals and that .. Because my best friend was expecting at the same time.
Women discussed it a lot, we did. And then my mum started to, like you would get bits and pieces that I'd never known about before, she would tell you about when she was having me and my brother.

p.132 TW: .. an the amount o...

TW: And the amount of cards and gifts that I got at the hospital, and the amount that was here when I came through the door! They came from people whom I had sort of said 'hallo' to when I'd gone out walking. But I certainly, in no way, knew them at that point.

I would've recognised the names on the parcels and on the cards.

But, I mean, there were no holds barred. There were full pram suits, knitted, hand-knitted, nothing bought, everything was hand-knitted. And really fine ply cardigans and hats and goodness knows what all.

p.136 AW: They were aye roon about...

AW: They were always round about, offering advice and feeding and things like that. They came round all the time.

p.136 GM: .. Did ye get help...

GM: .. Did you get help from your mother-in-law?

NS: Not really .. I was so determined I was going to do it myself. Which was the wrong thing, really, looking back. But at the time, first mums think "I can do this".

p.140 TF: .. a lot o the hooses...

TF: .. a lot of the houses weren't lived in. The kids were inclined to live in other folks' houses, certain houses were just show-houses.

TF: .. The fisher family aren't allowed to play as we played in the home. In bad weather the house was a mess. But they're not allowed to do that, they've got to go out and go to someone else's house and make a mess. It's usually an older person's house.

p.143 SG: Bit ee've jist ti try an...

SG: But you've just to try and sympathise with them with whatever is happening. But it is a problem that they have

to sort out for themselves, I can't really have anything to do with that. That's their own family affairs.

p.149 GM: How div ye keep...

GM: How do you keep in touch with your pals if you've got two children and you're married?

AW: Well, a lot of them are in the same position as me. Their husbands are at sea so there is plenty of time to fill in, to keep in touch with your friends. Whereas, if your husband was at home all the time, you'd be busier.

p.151 GM: Fin ye're up...

GM: When you're up at the playgroups and that, what do you speak about?

AW: I would say mainly children. And things that are happening at the playgroup.

GM: Do you speak about the fishing?

AW: I don't, I never speak about the fishin, not into any depth.

p.151 NN: Now fin we wis...

NN: Now when we were just newly-married he was just like a big child. And in fact it was my own fault for letting him off with it. If he wanted anything he just had to whistle and he would get it. Those days are changed.

When Francis was born, there was one day when I just said to him, 'Now, I'm stopping this, and I'm stopping that, and I'm stopping anything which you take me for granted for. I'm not going to run after you any longer. I laid down my rules and I stuck to them. And he has really changed drastically to what he was.

p.151 NN: At times I'll dee...

NN: At times I'll do for him what I wouldn't do for Willy. But that'll have to stop also because I wouldn't like him to grow up to be one of those kinds of men who think that a wife's place is in the home.

p.152 SG: The mairriet lads...

SG: The married men are more stable. They wouldn't change berths so often because they have families to look after.

p.152 WA: .. he disnae dee...

WA: .. He doesn't do a lot around the house, not unless I'm ill or something like that. Because he would think that I would be making the fool of him, you know.

p.153 "Dinna you dee at again!": Don't do that again!

p.156 PA: .. Fin ee come hame...

Pa: .. When you come home all you want to do is to be good to your children, you know. Ye would never, I would never ever really bring them up or anything. I'm not strict with them at all. Just really let them do anything. But they're excited, you know, for the weekend when the men come home. So she has to do all the discipline.

p.158 AW: No, I widnae think so...

No, I wouldn't think so. It's not something I've really thought about.

Most mothers have their children all day anyway, so the only difference, I would say, is that they have got their dads at home as well as their mothers. I don't think the bonds would be any stronger. And I don't think the bonds would be any less with the dad either because he's not there all week. Like my bairns - especially Alasdair, he prefers his dad to me. I'm the one who's been there all the time.

p.159 HW: Fin the faimily...

HW: When the family were young we just hadn't much time to spend on them at all. That's one thing we did miss out on.

I've more time to spend with my grandchildren than I ever had with my own children.

p.160 GM: .. So faa's view...

GM: So who's view would sort of rule in relation to the children?

WN: Well, she is at home with them most of the time, isn't she? So she will have the most influence on them. Simple as that.

p.161 NN: .. Ye're really like a single parent...

NN: .. You're really like a single parent, they're away all the time, the men. And you have to run the house and look after the children. And this person coming home at the weekend, giving you orders on how to run things, and that does not go down well at all, to say the least!

p.161 NN: .. If we hae arguments...

NN: .. If we have arguments it's because of the children, things I have given the children or done, forgiven the children for, that he doesn't think is right. That I'm far too lenient with them, that I'm not punishing them enough. Now, I feel that I am. It's not nice if you have someone coming in and interfering with you. So!

p.163 NN: So he hid ti...

NN: So he had to take his tail between his legs and do what he was told.

p.164 GM: So ye miss...

GM: So do you miss your wife and family when you're at sea, do you?

BN: Oh yes, yes. Often. I mean, you go on a Sunday night and you just don't want to. You'd rather stay at home. And the whole week you think, 'Oh well, that's another day in'. And you're just wishing your life away sometimes. You're just kind of waiting for the end of the week.

p.164 "cis the lads..": because the Balnamara men like to come home at the weekends.

p.165 GM: Fin ye come hame...

GM: When you come home do you find that the children are looking forward to you coming home?

BN: Francis, he is quieter, he doesn't say that much but Fiona, she just runs and jumps into my arms when I come home, you see. She likes to see me come home. She's always asking on a Saturday night when I put her to her bed, 'Do you go away to the sea tomorrow?', and 'Will you be here tomorrow?', or whatever. She never wants you to go. But Francis doesn't say much, although I would imagine that he feels the same, he just doesn't express his feelings.

p.166 GM: .. ye'd a thocht...

GM: You would have thought that it would have caused problems initially when they were very young, they wouldn't recognise him.

AW: Never. Not with my two anyway. But when Francis was five months old Tam was away for a whole month. And when he came home the boy was six months old. I said to him, 'He's not going to recognise you, ye won't like you'.

But he did! He was as high as a kite all that day. He sat in his bouncing chair, his legs going - he usually had a nap, and he didn't need one that day, he was that excited!

p.167 BN: .. eence ye're mairriet...

BN: .. Once you're married you don't want to go to the job. Because you want to be at home watching your family growing up, and to be at home with your wife.

p.170 AW: Fin I wis younger...

AW: When I was younger I wish that I'd been encouraged to take my time to grow up and that there was plenty time to marry and have children, late twenties, early thirties. I think it would have been better, I think I would have been more ready for it. Because I have a lot of regrets.

p.171 AW: I feel within masel...

AW: I feel personally that I am capable. Sometimes I feel, especially in relation to the children, 'oh, I'm not doing this well at all. But I think, as you grow older, you get more confident.

p.172 AW: Oh well...

AW: Oh well, you was a girl, it didn't matter.

p.175 NN: I'll hae ti dee...

NN: I'll have to do something because I just feel, well, your life is a waste of time if you don't do something.

p.175 NN: I widnae like...

NN: I wouldn't like my children to come home from the school and me not be there.

p.194 AW: I think I've...

AW: I think I've got a better relationship than he has with his mother.. I think they are quite fed up of one another because she has had him for twenty five years now. It's good for her to get a change, to have me. She can speak to me about things too.

p.199 GM: .. did ye get a lot o...

GM: Did you get a lot of help from your in-laws and from your mum?

AW: Oh yes, they were always there offering advice and feeding. They came round all the time.

p.199 NN: I wis as determined...

NN: I was so determined that I was going to do it myself. Which was the wrong thing, really, looking back. But at the time, first mums think 'I can do this'.

p.203 Amanda: Don't buy him any more toys. Will is angry with you and he'll go mad if you buy him any more things. He will start to expect something every time we go away, and it's not good for him.

Stella: His other granny isn't going to be good to him. And some grannies have to baby-sit three or four times a week to let the parents out to work.

Amanda: Some parents have to go out to earn money to keep a house going.

Stella: Yes, well.

Amanda: Well, we're the parents. And Will's really mad at you for buying him so much stuff.

Stella: Well, well.

p.207 GM: Div ye feel..

GM: Do you feel that you have to let them see the grandchildren as well, that they're part of bringing them up?

PA: Yes, yes, but I think that that's just because they stay in the same places, you know. They see them often during the week.

p.298 "Ee'll learn...": You'll learn. You'll grow to be like everybody else. When someone goes past you'll be looking, your neck stretching out!

p.299 SG: Ee widnae like...

SG: You wouldn't like one of your crew's wives to be telling everyone in the village how much money you were getting, and either criticising the things that you were doing aboard a boat or telling all the other wives all the information which comes out of the boat. You wouldn't really approve of that. You like to think that the crew is like a bit of family, a bit of loyalty within the crew, and try to work together for the common good, rather than be trying to disrupt the harmony in the crew all the time.

p.299 PA: .. they're feart ti...

PA: .. they're afraid to talk because it's so close-knit a community. The gossip would be round the village in a minute, so you would never get anyone to speak, ever get anyone to speak.

p.306 AW: .. ye've got ti hae fit...

AW: You've got to have what everyone else has and you've got to be like everybody, and you've got to think like everybody else.

p.307 (see above, p.306)

p.310 NN: I dinna care...

NN: I don't give a toss what Balnamara people think of me! I will do what I like! What concern of their is it what I do? I used to worry about what people thought, but I think once you're away from here .. you don't care any longer.

p.311 NN: If I think ...

NN: If I think something more than often I'll say it. If they're not happy too bad. I don't care if they are happy or not.